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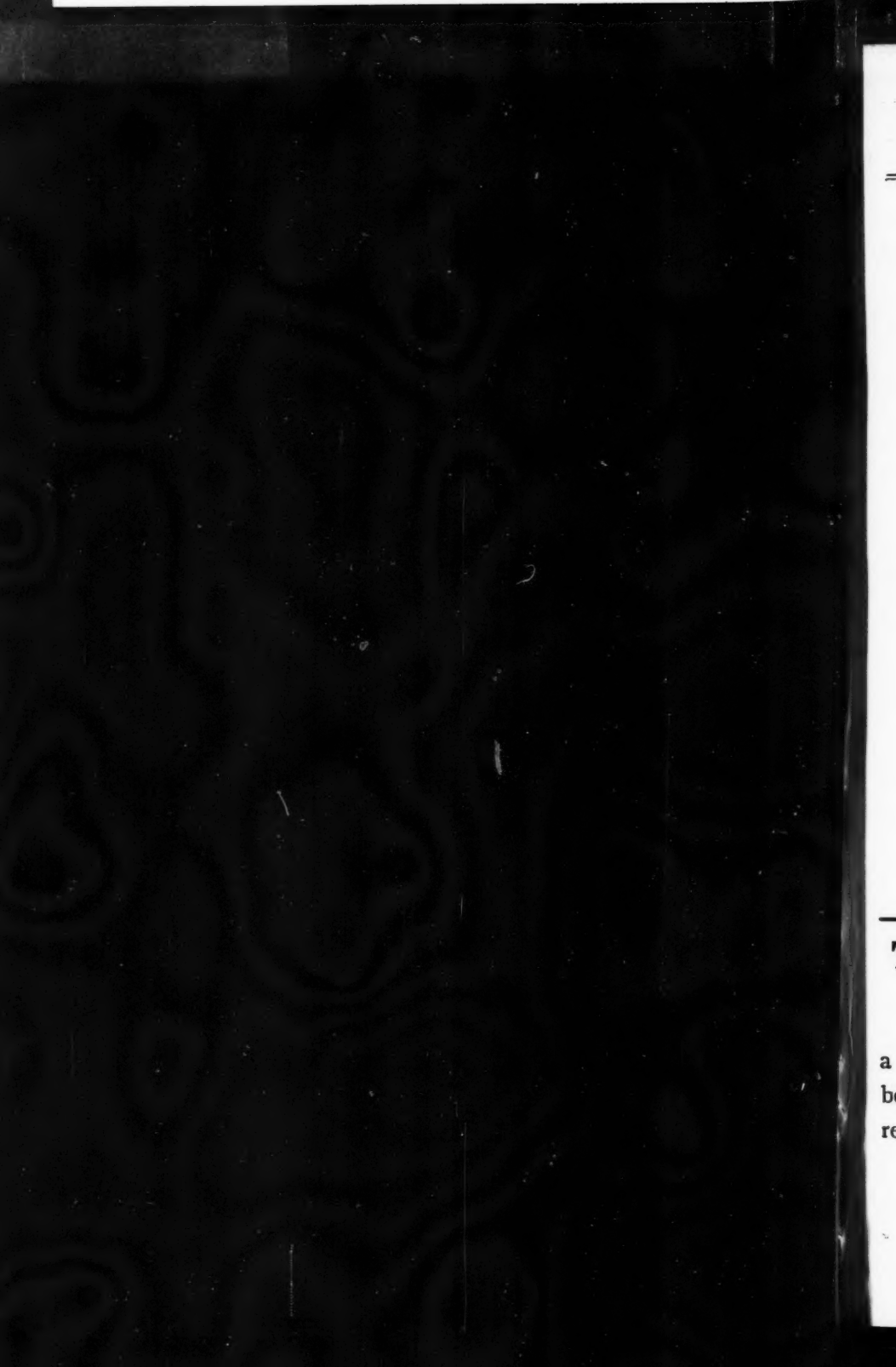
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL 1899.

ART. I.—LORD HALIFAX AND
NEO-ANGLICANISM.

THE recent speech of Lord Halifax to the delegates of the English Church Union, and the supplementary statement which he sent to the Dean of St. Paul's, mark a new and more acute stage of the Anglican crisis. We do not know if in this case Lord Halifax has not planted his flag at a point farther in front than that to which the bulk of his supporters would be willing to follow him. He has taken up ground which it may require hard fighting to win and to keep, and the chances of his victory will be in proportion to the measure of self-sacrifice which he may find in the ranks behind him.

Our present purpose is merely to note that both his speech and his statement register a fresh *étape* in the march of the Anglican movement. In point of fact they do more. They present a new development of Anglicanism. By this we mean one which is new not only in the sense in which Tractarianism differed from the Anglicanism of the pre-Tractarian period, but in the sense of a Neo-Anglicanism which boldly repudiates the right of the Crown "to determine the doctrine, discipline, or ceremonial of the Church of England."

This repudiation, indeed, goes further. For it has attached to it a far-reaching corollary, and one which contains an ulterior repudiation far more significant than the mere "Hands off!" so bravely spoken in the face of Cæsar. Unless we have

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utterly failed to grasp the true inwardness of the manifesto, it includes quite as clearly the repudiation of the right of the Church of England herself, even in her most spiritual courts, to decide questions of faith or morals, definitively or ultimately, or in any sense contrary to Catholic consent, or to that which is held by the collective body regarded as the Catholic Church throughout the world. Here we express, perhaps, not so much Lord Halifax's utterance as our deduction from it and the pronouncement of his followers, but it seems to us that the very essence of his position is exactly this right to appeal over the head of the national Church to Catholic consent, and to make that appeal sufficiently effective to become, if need be, a fulcrum of resistance here in England. In this we have a denial not merely of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, but of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Anglican authorities in this country. Lord Halifax may with perfect sincerity protest that all this implies nothing more than is contained in the principles for which the English Church Union has been contending for the last thirty years. And this in a sense is true. His manifesto represents the ulterior term of tendencies, and the logical conclusion of premisses which may be traced in the thought and speech of advanced Anglican leaders during that time. But we are confronted by the plain and palpable fact that the position is not that of Anglicanism even in the proximate past. The whole press of the country from the *Times* downwards bears vehement witness that it is not one which is familiar to the British public. Those who have an ordinary, much more those who have a specialist, knowledge of the facts of the English Reformation would express themselves more strongly, and would affirm that in the Established Church of this country such a repudiation of the commonly accepted meaning of the royal supremacy amounts to nothing less than a change of axis, and that it is, at the very least, a transference of the centre of gravity in Church doctrinal authority from the Church of England to a collective body, the bulk of which is, and ever must be, outside of this realm.

If even a part of this be true, it will seem to many, besides Sir W. Harcourt, that Lord Halifax's manifesto has in it the elements of an Anglican revolution. At all events, in calling it Neo-Anglicanism we may justly feel that we have not

chosen the strongest term which might have been fairly used to describe it.

But why should we call it anything at all? What have we to do with it?

The answer to that question will be already present to the minds of our Catholic readers. The Anglican crisis of our time arises out of the divisions which exist between various and hostile sections of the Anglican communion. It is a matter of elementary decency, as well as of self-respect, that Catholics cannot intervene to take part or sides in the domestic disputes of Anglicanism. Nor, indeed, have they the faintest inclination to do so. In such contentions, outside her fold, the Catholic Church can never consent to become a partaker. On the other hand, she is, and obviously must be, a keenly interested spectator. Not that she, who herself walks the beautiful ways of peace, could ever derive satisfaction from the spectacle of strife and animosity even amongst those who are most opposed to her. She knows too well that she has to count as for her sole means of success upon the operation of the Holy Ghost, and she knows equally well that, while God may make use even of evil to open the eyes of the truth-seeking, anger and bitterness are, least of all, the frame of mind in which the *Lux beatissima, replens cordis intima* can work its blessed effect. But she has, and must ever have, an inextinguishable interest in all souls to whom she is sent. The trend of thought, the convictions, sympathies, affinities, which may occupy the souls of those with whom she may have to deal in delivering her message, and which are so often in her view the smoking flax which she may not extinguish, must, by the very nature of her mission, be to her at all times a subject of earnest observation and solicitude.

Hence the reflections which at the present moment arise in the minds of Catholics are not conceived in the spirit of gratuitous criticism of the combat going on outside our doors, but rather are they, as far as we know, those which naturally force themselves upon all who think, or hope, or pray, or labour for the success of the work which the Catholic Church in this country has entrusted to her hands.

Amongst these reflections we may venture here to note

one or two of the most obvious, which will no doubt have occurred to all who have devoted any measure of thought to the subject.

First of all, Lord Halifax's statement is distinctly a protest against Erastianism, and a courageous repudiation of the doctrine of the royal supremacy in matters of religion as popularly understood and accepted. He has courageously pinned his colours to the mast, on the principle that the Crown has no right to control the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonial of what he believes to be the Catholic Church in this country. We, of course, differ from him fundamentally in his application of the principle to the Anglican Church. But in his maintenance of the principle itself we can only applaud with both hands. His contention is only what our theologians and canonists mean when they maintain that the Catholic Church is a *societas perfecta*, with her magisterium and her legislative, judicial, and executive authority supreme in its own sphere, and independent of the civil power. That happens to be precisely the thesis for which the Church herself has fought during the ages, and the one which we as Catholics have been defending with all our strength during the last three centuries, and against a host of Anglican bishops and divines who, in rejecting the Pope, have fought as tenaciously for the opposite doctrine of the royal supremacy, as if it had been felt by them to be the life-breath of their nostrils, or the foundation of the ground beneath their feet. Lord Halifax has come to help us, and that he, at the close of the nineteenth century, with a band of some 30,000 Anglicans at his back, should take up our thesis, and, in the face of all England, nail it on the doors of the Anglican Establishment, seems to us an event hardly less epoch-making than that other memorable thesis-nailing which took place at Wittemberg, on the eve of All Saints, some 380 years ago.

At the same time, if in taking up this position Lord Halifax imagines that his conception of the independence of the spiritual jurisdiction had any place in the foundation and constitution of the English Reformation settlement, or in its subsequent traditions, we can only say that our Catholic memories are not of yesterday, and we feel that he is about as far from the plain historical fact as he well can be. It is

not too much to say that under Henry VIII., at any date after 1534, he would have paid with his head for any repudiation of royal supremacy such as he made recently at the Grafton Hotel. After the breach with Rome in 1534, the royal edicts and proclamations, which the Anglican episcopate received with obsequious acquiescence, took special care to rub in the new doctrine with merciless plainness, persistence, and emphasis. "Seeing that all authority of jurisdiction, and also jurisdiction of all kinds, that which is called ecclesiastical, as well as that which is secular, has flowed from the royal power, as supreme head, &c.,"* were the words in which the Primate of the English Church as chief ecclesiastical "magistrate" received back the authority to rule his diocese from the hand of the boy-king Edward VI. Nor was the formula merely Edwardian. It was Henry VIII.'s own, and was used in the commission to Foxe, of Hereford, in 1535, only one year after the separation. It was not merely in the canon of the Mass, but in the whole conception of Church authority, that the Pope's name was erased and the King's name substituted. Quite true, no one expected—as Francis I. jestingly suggested—that the English King should "sing High Mass." Nor was it intended, or indeed necessary, that the King should decide doctrinal questions as ecclesiastical judge *motu proprio*. But all the same, the decision what the Church of England should or should not teach was left effectively in his hands. For while he might not decide, for instance, whether theologically doctrine X or doctrine Y were orthodox, he could decide it practically by taking care that ecclesiastics who held and taught X should have the framing of the formularies, and ruling the sees, and the preaching in the parishes; while those who taught Y should go to the Tower, or at least into retirement. There were few things more complete in their way than the Tudor royal supremacy. Poor Bishop Bonner, in whom apparently there still survived a last spark of ecclesiastical spirit, ventured on one occasion to make what was after all a very reasonable and respectful protest, to the effect

* Quandoquidem omnis iuris dicendi auctoritas et etiam iurisdictio omnimoda, tam illa quae dicitur ecclesiastica, quam saecularis, a regia potestate velut a supremo capite ac omnium magistratuum infra regnum nostrum fonte et scaturigine primitus emanaverit.—Wilkins, "Concilia," iv. 2.

that he would obey the royal injunctions in the matter of religion in so far as they were not contrary to "the law of God and the statutes and ordinances of the Church in this realm." (It was too late in the day to think of mentioning "Catholic consent." Blessed Thomas More knew what came of doing that!) Even in this harmless proviso the Crown detected a challenge of resistance to be promptly and peremptorily crushed. The unfortunate bishop was forthwith brought to his knees, forced to make an abject apology to the royal visitors for having so far departed from "his duty," with a promise never "to forget himself" so far again in future, and then, with a refinement of cynicism, he was actually compelled himself to beg as a favour that the record of his own humiliation should be handed down to all posterity by having it carefully inscribed in the registers of the King's council. If this was the measure dealt out to even a Bishop of London, Lord Halifax can judge for himself what would have been the consequences to himself if he had attempted to utter a tenth part of his recent manifesto anywhere within the keen hearing of the Tudor sovereigns, or at any time during the formative period of the Reformation settlement.

But after all, the past is the past, and apart from what we owe to historical truth and its consequences, what need we care just now what Anglicanism was pleased to accept some 350 years ago? If Lord Halifax and his supporters now at this present time choose to adopt our Catholic doctrine of the spiritual independence of the Church there is no reason in the world why they should not, and no reason why we should not be pleased at their doing so.

It is just here, in the consideration of Lord Halifax's manifesto as a factor in the present position, that there will occur to all who consider the matter, what is and must be the main question: How far is such a principle as that which he advocates, as applied to the Anglican Church, logically tenable or practically workable?

We are not now thinking of the opposition it may encounter from the Protestant populace. What the Kensits, little or great, educated or uneducated, may say or do is not in the least our concern. We have in view just now the inherent

value and working of the claim which Lord Halifax makes for the Anglican Church, and what it must logically lead to if those who are most concerned are willing to grant it.

Let us examine it.

In main outline it is fairly clear and precise. Lord Halifax holds that an Anglican bishop rules his diocese *jure divino*. But it is obvious that the exercise and even the tenure of this right is not unconditioned. Were the bishop, for instance, to teach heresy it is plain that he must be liable to correction, or even to removal by the rest of the episcopate. The words in which St. Cyprian sets forth the corrective principle, and the letter in which he advocates the forcible removal of a heresy-favouring bishop from the See of Arles, are among the commonplaces of Church history. It is undeniable that this corrective principle, if it is worth anything at all, must hold good with reference to the power of the Church œcumenical over a province or national Church, even more than with reference to the power of a national Church over a diocese. If, for instance, the Anglican episcopate as a body can correct the ruling of an individual bishop, it must be equally true that the judgment of the Church at large can be invoked to correct the ruling of the Anglican episcopate. There is nothing in the idea of a national Church, nor in the configuration of England, that can restrict or resist the application of St. Cyprian's principle when it is once logically set in motion.

The very least, therefore, that Lord Halifax's claim can mean is that in future the Anglican Church in this country must hold itself liable to have its decisions at least speculatively corrected by the "Church Ecumenical," a body existing for the most part outside of England. And be it noted, this œcumenical correction would be something not abstract or academic, but permeating and practical. No œcumenical council or synodical judgments would be in the least necessary. All that would be needed is that it should be made manifest that a given doctrine or a given practice is taught by the Church at large, "by East and West," and is matter of "Catholic consent," and Anglicans living in this country would at once be bound in *foro conscientiae* by its determination, and so much so that they would be justified in offering resistance

to their own bishops or national synods if the latter decreed anything against it.

The plain English, then, of the principle which underlies Lord Halifax's claim is that the members of the Established Church in this country shall have their religious beliefs and discipline determined in supreme and final instance by an authority which is mainly outside of England.

Here let us take care that we are not straining the meaning of the claim or unduly pressing its consequences. It is quite true that Lord Halifax looks beyond the Anglican communion to the greater entity which he believes to be the Catholic Church, and of which he believes that the Anglican communion is an integral portion. It is equally true that he recognises and insists on the right of that which is œcumenical to override or correct that which is local, national or provincial, and that he sees in this right an extra-national check or corrective which would justify, in case of need, opposition or resistance to the abuse of local episcopal authority. But all the while he may be regarding "Catholic consent" simply as a rule or standard of belief and practice existing in the Church at large, and he might say: "It is not that we owe submission or allegiance to the episcopate outside our national Church, but we owe submission and allegiance to the rule of Catholic faith and practice as determined by Catholic consent—a rule which we hold in common, and which we claim the right to stand by, even if some of our bishops (or, indeed, all of them) were unhappy enough to depart from it."

We have not the faintest right to word such a statement for others, or to assume that they would adopt it, but we put it hypothetically in this way, in order that we may anticipate a possible objection.

Here, then, we touch what seems to us the heart of the question.

There are obviously two ways in which "Catholic consent" as the final standard of appeal and as the extra-national check can be conceived. As we shall see later, between the two ways there is a whole world of doctrinal difference. It is clear, by the very nature of the term, that "Catholic consent" has got a living determining authority behind it, namely, the

episcopate of the Church at large which makes the consent, and of which it is the resultant. *Consent* presupposes the living body of individuals who are *consenters*.

"Catholic consent" can be considered either with this living agency or without it. Taken with it, Lord Halifax's statement would mean a great deal—probably more than any utterance which has come from Anglicanism since the time of the Reformation. Taken without it, his statement means nothing, and would have to be classed with the puerilities of Littledale. It would only show that Lord Halifax and Mr. Kensit are in the same room, with their feet on the same plane, albeit at opposite ends of it. Let us see why.

"Catholic consent" considered simply as an abstract standard of belief and practice, and apart from the living authority or magisterium which interprets and determines it, is simply what, in Catholic terminology, is known as a *Dead Rule*—viz., a rule or standard which, being like a book, physically silent and inanimate, is not self-interpreting. If, then, Lord Halifax means that "Catholic consent" is to be taken in this way, and that its interpretation and determination is to be left to individuals, groups of individuals, or local synods, and not to that of the living voice of the episcopate as a whole, it is evident that we have before us not even a semblance of Catholicism, but merely a case of Protestantism playing its old tricks of private judgment upon Catholic data. In that case it was really not worth while causing the Protestant public to lose its temper and to show its teeth merely for the adoption of a new phase of its own principle.

Let us make our meaning clear. We shall have before our mind's eye a true picture of pure and simple Protestantism in its essential principle, if we imagine Martin Luther sitting at a table with the open Bible before him. The scene is simplicity itself—the man and the Book. He has in the Book his all-sufficient rule of belief and practice. He has inside his forehead the private judgment with which he studies and interprets it. Two parts. The objective part, the Book which lies on the table, we call the *Dead Rule* (in the sense that it is physically silent and passive, and does not cry out when one puts a false meaning on it). The subjective part is Martin Luther's mind in judgment upon its import.

The point to be observed is that the essential Protestantism of this picture does not depend on what lies on the table, but on the maintenance of the private judgment as supreme interpreter. For instance, we may lay upon the table at the side of the Bible the three ancient creeds of Christendom, and then we may add the tomes of the Fathers, and then the liturgies, and Church formularies, and finally the volumes of councils and Church history, and we may induce Martin Luther to include all these in his reading, and to take them into due consideration in determining the meaning of his Bible. But in all this we shall not have altered one whit the essentially Protestant character of the situation. It is still a Private-Judgment-and-Books business. (And it remains so, even though some of the latter be written Church creeds and formularies.) The mind of the man is still in the judgment-seat. It is still *his* reading of Scripture, *his* reading of the Fathers, *his* interpretation of the creeds and formularies, *his* views of Church history. Private judgment is still supreme, and all that we have really done is to add to the materials and to widen the area of the field over which it is acting. We have not risen above the Dead Rule : we have only increased its apparatus. This is not removing Protestantism ; it is enlarging it.

If we wish to escape from the essential Protestant principle and arrive at Catholicism, we shall have to begin in a totally different way. We shall have to change not the objectivity, by piling books upon the table, but the subjectivity. We shall have to open the door and let in the living Teacher, the living authority of the Catholic Church, and place her in the judgment-seat. When she, the living interpreter who comes to us across the ages straight from the feet of Christ, enters the room and determines authoritatively the meaning of what is on the table ; when he who sits at the table makes place for her, and becomes not a self-teacher but a disciple, submitting his judgment to the living teacher, then, and then only, have we Catholicism in its essential principle, which, like Christ Himself, who founded it, must ever be the action of the Living Rule. Anything short of this is merely Protestantism playing with Catholic materials.

What we have said of Martin Luther necessarily holds good of a thousand Martin Luthers who may agree to use

their private judgment within certain common lines, and may band themselves into a sect or organisation. And as the question is affected not merely by the measure of doctrine believed, but by the principle by which we believe it, it holds equally good of Cranmer and any section or totality of the national Church who joined hands with him in this country. Such combinations of private judgment into collective or locally or nationally public judgments, however publicly enforced, remain essentially and irredeemably private judgments in the sense that they are local or national departures from the living rule, the living voice, and magisterium of the Church as a whole. For opposed to this, a national Church is merely a glorified private judgment—the private judgment of a nation as opposed to what is œcumenical.

It is for this reason that we feel that, if Lord Halifax should mean by "Catholic consent" nothing more than an abstract standard, or dead rule, to be determined and interpreted, not by the living voice and magisterium of what Anglicans regard as the whole Catholic episcopate throughout the world, but privately, locally, or provincially by individuals, sections, and synods of a local Church, he would be merely conjuring with words, and giving a wider and fuller exercise to the essential principle of Protestantism. He would, in fact, be doing nothing more than putting another book (entitled "Catholic Consent") on Martin Luther's table.

Nor would such an acceptance of "Catholic consent" avail for the purpose for which Lord Halifax most needs it. For, if what he calls "Catholic consent" is to be interpreted at all locally, and not œcumenically, the common sense of the British public would feel that such determination ought to be sought from the Anglican episcopate and not from the English Church Union.

But if this dead rule and essentially Protestant conception of Catholic consent, as taken apart from its living œcumenical interpreter, is not Lord Halifax's meaning—and we can well believe it is not—there is and can be but one other alternative. There is no midway between *with* and *without*, and if not taken without it, it must be taken with it. If it should really be that Lord Halifax looks beyond and above the Anglican communion

to a supreme standard of belief and extra-national check, which he calls Catholic consent, or "Consent of East and West," and accepts that standard as determined by the mind of a living "œcumenical" episcopate, then we are at once in presence of—we do not say Catholicism, for that involves a true determination of what is œcumenical—but of a *living rule*, and the adoption of the position which he has taken up becomes momentous to all who are concerned in the destinies of Anglicanism. It can mean nothing less than the subjection of the Anglican conscience to a living authority, the great bulk of which is outside of England.* A living rule (as contradistinguished from a dead one) includes in itself the *ruler*. Lord Halifax's principle would mean that Anglicans shall be content in future to have their religious beliefs and practices determined, in final and supreme instance, by a body of men regarded as the œcumenical episcopate, and existing in their overwhelming majority outside the realm. In other words, it means the submission of the Anglican body to the determining authority of the episcopate of the Catholic Church as a whole, which, according to Anglican theory, is made up not only of Anglicans, but preponderatingly of Easterns and Romans.†

We have understood that one of the chief reasons why the English people maintain the attitude taken up at the Reformation is that they have a strong objection to submit themselves to the teaching of "a foreign bishop." It has also seemed to us that this objection was not merely to the one-ness, but to the foreign-ness of such a supreme authority. The Neo-Anglicanism asks them to submit not to one foreign bishop but to a thousand. Not that for a moment we would blame Lord Halifax or any other Anglican for teaching this admirable lesson of national submission to extra-national authority. The principle itself, apart from the allocation he would assign to it, is Catholic.

* It might be conceived that such an authority is regulative rather than jurisdictional. Yet when it is a *regula viva* it includes necessarily an authority which, while possibly not executive in the sense of deposing a bishop or appointing his successor (although St. Cyprian's principle did include that), is still effective as it does actively and judicially determine that a given doctrine is to be held in a given sense and in no other. To determine and judge the law of belief is an act of teaching jurisdiction.

† The relative proportion of the alleged "Branches," Roman, Eastern, and Anglican, may be approximately stated in tens of millions by the three figures respectively—24—10—24.

Christianity means the humility and docility of discipline as opposed to individual and national pride, and the mental lawlessness which cries "Lord, Lord!" in its own pitiful self-chosen way. We cannot, therefore, but wish the advanced Anglican section every success in their brave attempt at disciplining the English people. When they have succeeded in their task, there is much that we hope and pray for which will be considerably nearer to its happy consummation than it is at the present time.

Here it may be worthy of note that this element of living œcumenical interpretation, as determining "Catholic consent," and making the latter an effective extra-national check upon local churches, which is really involved in Lord Halifax's claim, and which, even if it has not now, was certain sooner or later to become a part of the Neo-Anglican position, has an important bearing on the conception of Church unity. It requires no spirit of prophecy, but simple observation of the direction of the Anglican movement, and the logical drift of its religious thought, to feel that, even were Lord Halifax to hesitate to admit it—and we have no reason to suppose that he would—a future president of the English Church would undoubtedly take his place in proclaiming it. For all conceptions of Church unity which fall short of the Divine Fact are mere explanations born of the need of explaining, and are destined to pass, when they have served their turn, into the limbo of discarded hypotheses. Nothing is more natural than that the Anglican should have his explanation, as he needs the denial of the Papacy; and that the Nonconformist should have *his* explanation, as he needs the denial of episcopacy. No doubt even the Quaker has his explanation, as he in his turn needs the denial of a ministry. In these exigencies of denial the conception of Church unity is widened in its expansion at the expense of its nature and quality—or as a scholastic would say, the extension is increased at the cost of the logical comprehension. What the theologian in the street imagines to be breadth is in truth shallowness, and is acquired at the cost of depth. Unity is stretched to include more, at the sacrifice of its meaning. The wine is watered (till it ceases to be wine) that it may be made to go farther. This pitiful tendency is natural enough

in the populace which understands so much more easily the pleasantness of including a crowd, than the exclusiveness demanded to preserve the depth or height of a religious conception.

But this is precisely what we may expect the Neo-Anglican movement to rise above, and to leave behind it as the natural apaanage of the Dissenter and the Lutheran. We should expect that its mission will be to move forward to the highest and truest ideal of Church unity, and that more and more it will spurn to traffic in the quality of the Divine conception merely for love of wider areas; or of fraternisation that puts men before truth, or of gratifying predispositions to fit the facts of an existing system. The conception of Church unity which is highest and noblest, and therefore ontologically certain to win, is, as we might expect it to be, the one taught by Christ, the Divine Founder, and the sole one which is Catholic and scriptural. It is not that of a mere typical, or sporadic, or federative unity. That is to say, Catholic unity is not merely that which we find existing between trees of the forest, which present the same types even when separated into independent groups or separated sections. Nor is it that of a mere federation of autonomous ecclesiastical provinces, a sort of spiritual United States, without as much as a president, a government, or a supreme court to maintain its cohesion. The ideal of Catholic unity is, as St. Paul distinctly teaches us, that of a living *body*, and consequently that vital organic unity in which we are "member of member," and in which the whole has sympathy and solicitude for and control of each part, and each part is vitally subordinate to the whole. In fact, concrete vital unity is necessarily organic. It is in this, and in nothing short of this, that Lord Halifax's claim of "Catholic consent" as a controlling check finds its logical fulfilment. For, the mere conception of the part being controlled or brought into order by the whole, presupposes *pro tanto* a corporate or organic whole. The sporadic or federative whole is logically inadequate for the purpose. The bulk of the forest does not check a tree from developing a false type, or from propagating itself into a group which may overrun a large part of the area, or even in course of time change its whole character. A federation of autonomous parts, just to the extent in which we have federation and autonomy, excludes the pressure or correction

of the whole towards the part, and it is only when it has recourse to an adoption of organic wholeness that such pressure or correction can be effected. Hence we may fairly conclude that the more the newer Anglicanism comes to realise the need for the extra-national check, and the fulcrum outside its own borders, and the more it learns to look beyond its own limits in the spirit of submission to what it believes to be "Catholic consent," the more it will have outgrown those illusory and fallacious conceptions of Catholic unity—federative and sporadic—and the more it will tend towards the sublime vision of the Body of the Spouse of Christ in its vital organic unity, the august creation of God the Saviour, to the image and likeness of his own, in the new dispensation, even as the formation of the body of Adam in its vital and organic unity was the crowning work of God the Creator in the old.

Even unconsciously Neo-Anglicanism has moved in this direction. From the moment when it emancipated itself from the allurements of such will-o'-the-wisp conceptions as those of "invisible unity," or "prospective" or "progressive" or "final unity" (as if unity to be the mark of the Church must not mark it from the outset), of mere type unity (the unity which exists between all the people who have red hair!), and from the moment when it yearned to be more than insular, and looked beyond its pale to something nobler than a mere national or racial Church, its relation to an oecumenical body outside of itself became an imperative part of the ideal, and the realisation of that relation as one of effective check or correction on the one side, and of dutiful subordination on the other, as part to the whole, became merely a matter of time and progress. To have the glory and strength of being part of something greater than oneself involves necessarily the sacrifice of something in oneself, and the peace, dignity, security, and citizenship of the larger empire restore to us a higher liberty than that which we imagined ourselves to possess in the pettiness of our personal independence. For this reason we hold that an Anglican who looks to what he conceives to be the "Catholic Church" at large (even when the bulk of the latter has the misfortune to be made up of foreigners), and makes his appeal to "Catholic consent" even against his own episcopate, mistaken as he is as to the

allocation of his ideal, has a far higher and truer conception of spiritual freedom than an Evangelical whose insular gaze cannot rise above the Crown and the Privy Council or the national synods.

In so far, therefore, as the theory of a "Church Catholic," which is held to include the Anglican Church as an integral part, contains in itself implicitly, and necessarily brings with it the appeal to "Catholic consent" and subordination thereto, and the extra-national check and corrective, Lord Halifax may rightly say that there is nothing in his statement beyond that for which the English Church Union has been contending for years past. Undoubtedly the Union has, consciously or unconsciously, been preparing the principles and premisses. Lord Halifax, at the present crisis, has brought the British public suddenly face to face with what has proved to be the startling conclusion. That conclusion is, as we have pointed out, that English Churchmen must in future bear in mind that their religious beliefs, discipline, and main rules of worship are to be decided in last instance, not by themselves or even by their national episcopate, but by an authority outside this country, and that if they claim the honour of being part of a "Catholic Church," which is necessarily for the most part abroad—well, they must pay the price, and submit the determination of their religious life to the check and correction of an extra-national standard and judgment. The ordinary Anglican of past days, who has delighted to claim for himself all the glory and prestige of the name of "Catholic," while he yielded no submission to any authority outside of England (and not always to any authority even there), must give up his puerile attempt at having his cake and eating it too, and must at last learn to face the duties as well as the advantages of the claim which is being made for him.

As Catholics, we know with the certainty of faith the fallacy of the claim, and the futility of seeking Catholicism beyond the unity which centres in the See of Peter, but we feel that Lord Halifax's manifesto to his own followers is one which must open the eyes of those who had them already but half opened to the meaning of that claim, and provide them with a much-needed lesson of discipline which, as far as it goes, cannot, in God's good providence, be other than healthy and helpful.

Having said this, however, we are bound to remember that our scope is not mainly whether Lord Halifax's principle of the extra-national corrective or appeal to Catholic consent is or is not likely to be accepted by the Anglican people. That is altogether his concern and theirs. We have merely to examine for ourselves how far it is intrinsically sound or consistent with itself in the hands of those who occupy the Anglican position.

Let us take a case which will be recognised as having a pertinent and practical bearing on the inquiry. We will suppose that three months hence the Anglican bishops meet in national Synod, and by permission of the Crown enact a canon embodying the Archbishop's recent letter on divorce, or the decision at which they arrived unanimously a few months ago at Lambeth, and strictly forbidding throughout all England the ceremonial use of incense and the reservation of the elements.

Then, if ever, would be the moment for the contemplated appeal to Catholic consent, and for the application of the extra-national corrective. Nothing else, in fact, could give Lord Halifax any standing-ground or fulcrum of resistance in the opposition which, as he not obscurely has given the bishops to understand, may in such a juncture be made by the Ritualist section. But it is impossible not to feel that the moment Lord Halifax or his supporters take up such a ground, make such an appeal, or such a resistance, they will place themselves in a false position, and land themselves in an inextricable difficulty. For they will have brought themselves face to face with the great self-contradiction that lies at the root of the whole Anglican system. They resist the decision of their own bishops, which forbids incense and reservation. But why? Because such a prohibition is contrary to "Catholic consent," and the judgment of the Church at large cannot be set aside by a judgment emanating from a part. And what is "Catholic consent"? The Anglican answer is: It is the consent of the Church considered as a whole—viz., the Church which includes the Roman, the Eastern, and the Anglican communions. Now arises the question: This conception of the Church of her Christ, this judgment as to the nature of her Catholicity, and of her unity making it thus inclusive of the three communions, is certainly a vital and fundamental one. Where does Lord Halifax and

his supporters get it from? *It cannot be a matter of Catholic consent. It is utterly repudiated by the Roman, the largest by far of the three communions. It is not recognised by the Eastern, which teaches that the Catholic Church of Christ is one organic communion, and that the holy Eastern Church alone is that communion; and, apart from the harmless courtesies of her members, she has, as the Anglican leaders well know, carefully abstained from anything which would give formal recognition to the Anglican body as a part of that communion. A conception which is rejected by the largest branch of the alleged "Catholic Church," and is not admitted by the second, and which is held only by a part of the third, may be named anything we like, but it certainly cannot be called matter of "Catholic consent."*

If, then, Lord Halifax and his followers are actually holding at this moment their fundamental conception of what constitutes the Church and her unity and Catholicity (namely, the conception of a Catholic Church made up of three separate communions, Roman, Greek, and Anglican) in defiance of Catholic consent, and in the teeth of the overwhelming bulk of what they themselves would call the Œcumenical Episcopate, why should they object to the prohibition of incense and reservation, on the grounds that such prohibition is contrary to Catholic consent? This is what Catholics feel to be the inherent fallacy of the Anglican position. It forms to itself as the very basis of its claim a conception of the Catholic Church which is repudiated by the very constituents of which the conception is made up. It imagines a Catholic Church composed of branches, and this branch theory is disavowed by the two chief branches. It imagines the Catholic Church as a federation, and the federation is disclaimed by the overwhelming mass of the supposed federates. It asks us to believe in the existence of a partnership of three communions which is utterly unknown to the two chief partners. Ordinary Protestantism, with its recourse to the theory of an invisible Church, and its subjective all-sufficiency, appears to Catholics as a combination of rationalism and religiosity applied to the data of Christianity. But Anglicanism, interpreted by the Ritualist school, in presenting the theory of a visible system, conveys to them irresistibly the spectacle of a doctrine which refutes

itself, and which, in appealing to "Catholic consent," commits logical suicide, using as weapon its own first principle.

Moreover, the chief business of a Catholic Church is necessarily to teach, and if such a Church is to teach mankind anything at all, we fail to see what it may be expected or trusted to teach, if not such a fundamental requirement as the sense of the article of the creed, "the holy Catholic Church"—viz., the meaning of its own name, the nature of its own composition, and the conditions of its own unity. But Anglicanism asks men to believe in a "Catholic Church" which in the almost entire bulk of its episcopate and constituency—in the proportion of more than nine-tenths of its membership)—blunders, and has been egregiously blundering for ages and misleading Christendom on the simple fundamental question, "What is the Catholic Church? what the nature of her unity?" And further, it requires them to believe that the discovery or re-discovery of the true answer to these elementary questions was reserved for the notably smaller branch of the Anglican Church within the last three centuries, or, to speak more correctly, for a comparatively modern section or school within its pale.

We submit that if this were true—and it seems to us that the Anglican claim needs that it should be—"Catholic consent" cannot be necessary even for the interpretation of fundamental articles of faith. And if a vastly preponderating mass or majority is to be accepted as indicative of the voice and verdict of the whole*—as by its nature it must be, and in the

* It might be pleaded that while Catholic consent cannot be claimed for the Anglican theory of the Church, seeing that the Roman Communion condemns it, and the Greek-Russian Church in her synods and formularies recognises its communion alone as the one true Church, yet on the other hand it could not be said that Catholic consent rejects the theory, from the mere fact that the Anglican Church upholds it, and where only two out of the three branches condemn it, there is not the unanimity which makes up "Catholic consent." But as against this plea, it is easy to see that Catholic consent by the nature and work of the Church cannot require absolute unanimity. If so, Nestorius might have pleaded that there was no Catholic consent against him, inasmuch as he and his following claimed to be still part of the Catholic Church, and that this part held out against the decision of Ephesus, in sufficient numbers to destroy the unanimity required for Catholic consent. Arius, in his measure, might have used the same argument. On such grounds it would be impossible even for a Ritualist to claim Catholic consent for such doctrines as the objective Real Presence or Sacrifice of the Mass, seeing that there is a large mass of Evangelical bishops and clergy which is fatal to the required unanimity. Hence in Œcumenical Councils, and in Catholic consent, the natural law obtains, by which the voice of the bulk is the voice of the whole. The Catholic Church guided by the Holy Ghost does not put Christ in a minority.

Ecumenical Councils ever has been—the very basis and theory of the Anglican position stands condemned by “Catholic consent.” Hence from the essential standpoint of the Anglican system “Catholic consent,” even as determined by its own theory, is precisely the last thing in the world which could be logically or consistently invoked as a supreme standard, much less erected into a Court of Appeal to correct the aberrations of the Anglican episcopate.

So far we have merely endeavoured to put into words the judgment which, we take it, would occur to most Catholics to form as to the intrinsic inconsistency of the appeal to Catholic consent, or the corrective principle of St. Cyprian as made use of by Anglicans.

But apart from this, there are few of us who will not welcome the fact that our Anglican fellow-countrymen are learning more and more to raise their eyes beyond the limitations of an insular or racial Church, and to look abroad with yearning sympathy towards the Catholic Church, and to that vast Eastern fragment which, in being unhappily separated from it, has carried with it so much of what is dear to Catholic Christendom.

We believe that the logical term of the Anglican movement is Rome, that its whole drift and trend is undoubtedly thither, even at the time when it most energetically protests that it is not. As long as men come step by step towards us we shall not complain, even if for the moment their faces should be turned away from us. There are some good and sincere people who make the journey to Rome, up to the last moment, sitting with their backs to the engine, and are not the less happy when they get there.

In the march of the Anglican movement, taken broadly and as a whole, we may be permitted in the spirit of hope to discern three consecutive stages.

There was first of all the emancipation from the narrowness and baldness of dismal Reformation Protestantism, and from the idea of a mere insular establishment, and the yearning to be at one with the patristic and liturgical traditions of Catholic Christendom. It is quite true that these were still mere standards or matter of dead rule, but the Tractarian movement, if it went no farther, at least piled up the works of the

Fathers, the ancient liturgies, and the lives of the saints, and much else besides upon Martin Luther's table.

A second stage—we ask ourselves if it has yet arrived?—is that in which Anglicans not only look abroad for abstract standards of belief and practice, but are willing to submit to what they regard as the authority of the "Catholic Church" and "Catholic consent," or the living voice and judgment of the "Œcumenical Episcopate," determining in supreme instances the meaning and sense of such standards. Therein we should have the significant passage from the dead to a living rule, albeit this living rule is made to include a constituency beyond that which is Catholic.

A third and final stage—one which is yet in the future—will be the true allocation of the living rule, when in God's providence Anglicans will come to see that just as Catholicism is essentially the religion of the living voice and living rule, so that this voice and rule cannot be found save in the unity of the See of Peter.

The expansion of the dead rule from Chillingworth's "Bible and Bible alone" to include most of the *loci theologici* of Catholicism—the passage from the dead rule to the living rule *in confuso*—the allocation of the living rule to its true centre and Divinely appointed *situs*—such, may we hope, will be the line of the march which, under God's light and leading, many of the best and sincerest of the English nation will make, back from the wilderness of the Reformation to their ancient religious home in the peace and joy of Catholic unity.

J. MOYES.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the above, we have dealt with some of the considerations which the main drift and import of Lord Halifax's statement would, in our opinion, convey or suggest to Catholic readers. Beyond this there lie upon the surface of the statement two or three expressions which may call for a word of notice.

(1) Lord Halifax maintains that the rulers of England in the sixteenth century "rejected all idea of separating themselves from the Catholic Church. They disclaimed all intention of separating themselves from the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, except in such particulars as these Churches had themselves departed from primitive antiquity." We need hardly observe that separation from the Catholic Church is not merely a matter of words or of professions. It is a matter

of deed. The Anglican Church became separated from Catholic Unity precisely in the same manner as all preceding sects and heresies, namely, by its open adoption of doctrines which were notoriously heretical and opposed to the ordinary teaching magisterium of the Catholic Church. It is not merely that these heresies were contained in the formularies openly drawn up and officially adopted by the Crown, the Parliament, and the Church, which of itself was all-sufficient to have cut them off from the communion of Catholic Christendom. Heresies, both against the Rule of Faith, the Mass, the Sacraments, and the Invocation of the Saints, were openly and personally and officially taught by the Anglican Archbishops Cranmer, Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, and others, and in such teaching these prelates were abetted by the Anglican body by the plain public fact that, far from censuring or removing them, it maintained them and continued in open communion with them. This in itself according to Catholic principles would have sufficed to have separated the Anglican body from the Catholic Church and placed it in that state of schism and heresy from which nothing but the sentence of absolution and reconciliation from the due authority could have restored it. Nor is it altogether a matter of the past. The recent charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury, professing the Receptionist heresy (with an alternative of Lutheranism), would in the eyes of the Catholic Church be more than enough to separate him and all who remain in communion with him from Catholic Unity, even if he and they were not already so separated. As to mere professions of no wish to separate from the Catholic Church, we do not suppose that there ever existed a heretic or any heretical bodies that were not in their measure profuse in such protestations—provided always, of course, that the word "Catholic Church" be accepted in *their* sense, and provided that the Holy See and the rest of Catholic Christendom would be content to take *them* for a guide, and adopt *their* views and standards of what was or was not primitive Christianity. Lord Halifax's motives in minimising the unhappy separation of the sixteenth century are cirenical and admirable, but nothing can ever be gained for the cause of reunion by glossing over the historical and doctrinal facts of the breach.

(2) In another part of his statement Lord Halifax rightly points out how in pre-Reformation times ecclesiastical appeals were carried to Rome. But he adds in parenthesis, "if the King allowed it." But it was exactly in testimony of the Crown having no power to hinder a purely ecclesiastical appeal that St. Thomas shed his blood at Canterbury. Does Lord Halifax really imagine that each of those thousands of English appeals of which we now read the record in the volumes of the Papal Regesta, and the significance of which has been lately set forth by Professor Maitland, were initiated by a permission in the King's Court of Chancery? There were hardly any matter upon which the English Church so vehemently and vigorously asserted her unalienable right as her liberty to appeal in matters spiritual to the Pope, who, as Bracton, the great English civilian, taught, was in such things her *Ordinary*, just as much as the King was Ordinary in matters purely temporal. Archbishop Peckham declared that those who do not accept

the appeals duly made to the Pope "are not to be counted as Catholics, but as heathens and publicans,"* and reminded Edward I. that he, just as much as any of his subjects, was "bound to obey the Pope," and that "to the Sovereign Pontiff belonged the decision of all controversies that cannot be settled by the inferior judges."† The English Church before the Reformation never once acknowledged any right on the part of the English Crown to block or bar the path of spiritual appeal to the Apostolic See.

(3) The statement speaks of appeals going to the Pope as the "mouthpiece of the authority of the collective episcopate, outside a General Council." From this and previous utterances we are led to think that Lord Halifax has in his mind a Papacy which holds its authority by way of delegation or concession from the Church or the episcopate at large of which it is the mouthpiece and the executive agent. It is, of course, quite open to Lord Halifax to form for himself this view of the Papacy. And we gladly concede that even this way of regarding the Pope is immeasurably better than the mere "foreign bishop" formula of 1535 and of later Anglicanism. But he and those who support him would be labouring under a grave illusion if they supposed this conception of the Papacy to be either Catholic or historical. Far from being Catholic, it does not even rise to the level of Gallicanism at its lowest ebb. Gallican theologians like Gerson and Almain, even in their most rampant mood during and after Constance, never denied that the Papacy held the "*plenitudo Apostolicæ potestatis*"‡ by the gift of Christ Himself, and (as Gerson seems to have impressed on the English ambassadors going to the Council) in contending for the superiority of a General Council over the Pope, as the personal incumbent of the Papacy, it was not in the least in the sense that the Pope was the delegate of the Council, but in the sense that the Council could rectify, within certain limits, abuses in the exercise of that plenitude of authority which the Papacy possessed by Divine right from Christ, and which even a General Council could not take away from it. The plenitude of power in the Pope in relation to that of the Church was, in their view, not a delegation or imparted power, but a distinct and in certain respects a lesser power which a Council might in cases of need guide or correct. On the other hand, the only thing which at all corresponds to the delegation theory we have mentioned is a proposition, sent

* Wilkins, "Concilia," ii. 88.

† *Ibid.* 64.

‡ "Fundatur in hac radice potestas rationalis limitandi plenitudinem Papalis potestatis per sanctorum concilium: non quidem ut tollatur vel diminuat ipsa potestas, sed in usu suo virtuosos, decente, licito et expediente pro tota Ecclesia in se vel in suis partibus, accipiendo modum virtuosum hujusmodi potestatis in suo usu, prout Ecclesia vel Sanctorum Concilium eam repræsentans judicabit." Gersonii opera. vol. ii. 216 (Edit. 1706). "Ecclesia vel Generale Concilium quamvis non potest tollere plenitudinem potestatis Papalis, a Christo supernaturaliter et misericorditer collatae, potest tamen eius usum limitare sub certis regulis ac legibus in aedificationem Ecclesiae, propter quam Papalis auctoritas et altera collata est." *Ibid.* 205.

up to the Council of Constance by an individual, and classed among the "*Propositiones singulares*" as separate from those adopted by the University of Paris. "The Pope who is instituted by the election of the Church, or those who act for her, receives the supreme power from the Church ministerially, although this power like every other power is principally from God. The proof is that since he receives this power by the agency of those who elect him, it seems to follow that the Papal power which is actually in the Pope resides always habitually or virtually in the Universal Church."* This proposition is an outcast one and lies amongst those which were not approved or even admitted—even by the Council of Constance. Lord Halifax will surely be rendering the reverse of a service to the cause of reunion, if for his conception of the Papacy he chooses not only to run counter to the Councils of the Vatican, Trent, and Florence, but endeavours to revive for the benefit of Anglicanism a doctrine which even the Council of Constance rejected as unworthy of its consideration.

* Mansi, "Concilia," tom. xxviii. col. 23.

ART. II.—EDWARD THRING OF UPPINGHAM.

1. *The Life and Letters of Edward Thring.* By G. R. PALKIN, C.M.G. London. Two Vols. 1898.
2. *A Memory of Edward Thring.* By J. H. SKRINE. London. 1889.
3. *The Theory and Practice of Teaching.* By EDWARD THRING. Cambridge: University Press. 1894.
4. *Uppingham Songs and Borth Lyrics.* By EDWARD THRING. London. 1887.
5. *Uppingham by the Sea.* By J. H. S. London. 1878.

ENGLAND, although it cannot claim the glory of producing such famous systems of education as the Benedictine and the Jesuit, has nevertheless developed, in the great public school, methods of training—if methods they are to be called, and whatever is to be thought of their merits—in harmony with the national character, very unlike those of other countries, and of which it is not a little proud. It can, moreover, reckon among its own many of the names most illustrious in the history of teaching. Colet, Ascham, Busby, and Arnold are all men of the first rank. Nor has the list by any means come to an end. Whatever may be the place of honour ultimately assigned to him, the name of Edward Thring must be added to the roll. The “second founder,” as he has been called, of Uppingham, carried to success a new and difficult venture in education, most interesting and most instructive to all who are concerned in that great work. And even if to those with larger traditions than can possibly belong to the Anglican Church many of his highly-prized discoveries may seem to be quite familiar truisms, it is still far from useless to study the career of a strong, earnest, and capable man placed among conditions different from our own. Though superfluous, the lesson may yet be found instructive.

More than eleven years have passed since Thring was called away from his labours. He had already appointed as his

biographer a faithful disciple and close personal friend. The choice was excellent. Mr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., who is Principal of the Upper Canada College and one of the leading teachers of the New World, has made admirable use of the diary, the correspondence, and all the other material entrusted to him. His sound and workmanlike biography abounds in valuable information. Nevertheless, useful and, indeed, indispensable as the book certainly is, it does not altogether supersede an earlier record of the headmaster, published shortly after his death. Mr. J. H. Skrine, now Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, was a boy at Uppingham, one of its two most distinguished representatives at Oxford, afterwards a master at the school, and could speak with at least an equal personal knowledge. In the pages of his singularly attractive "*Memory of Edward Thring*," a tribute of loyal devotion, there is displayed the portrait that shows the man as he really was, "in his habit as he lived," when he alternately tried the patience and won the enthusiastic regard of those about him.

It need not be denied that the chief interest in these volumes is for those familiar with the work at Uppingham, or else for professional teachers. To them the subject of the story may well be a source of encouragement and inspiration. Some, in fact, there are who go so far in their admiration as to maintain that Mr. Thring is one of our very greatest schoolmasters, a very pioneer in the work of education. This is probably to claim too much. He was, indeed, a man of quite remarkable energy, ability, and integrity; his work was of high value, and his influence far-reaching. But his strange attitude of mind towards intellect and learning, which he always perversely considered to be in unfavourable opposition to character; the peculiarly crude and unbalanced nature of some of his theories; his too frequent disregard of history, philosophy, and experience; the unmeasured dogmatism of many utterances—all these things at once remove him from the category of real leaders of thought. Yet he has his own place, as he deserves. He was the most eminent, as he surely was also the most earnest, school reformer of his generation.

Neither the man nor his work is likely to be forgotten; yet at the close of his life of unbroken activity Thring was constantly rendered despondent by the fear that his principles would

always be disregarded, his aims never realised, his efforts wasted. The principles were simple and few. To estimate, however, their great importance, we must call to mind what we have been told of the condition of schools like Eton or Winchester—not to speak of others—in the days before the Public Schools Commission. Even now, though few would deny their abstract truth, they have not won universal acceptance.

They can be set down shortly. First, he held that as boys are removed from their own families, not for the sake merely of skilful teaching, but for training and life, “the school must be home and better than home.” Next, that “the numbers must be manageable, so as to secure direct personal intercourse.” The headmaster, he used to say, unless he knows every one of his boys personally, becomes simply a policeman for somebody else. Now, it is impossible to deal directly with more than three hundred or so, and that fact will limit the number that can be admitted to the school. In like manner the house-master cannot truly be responsible for more than thirty, nor the class-master teach effectively many more than twenty. This was the ground for his severe condemnation of all existing public schools. He might have escaped a woeful burden of debt and have made a large fortune if he had chosen to abandon this cherished principle; but in spite of pressure and temptation—and these were not wanting—he clung to it with dogged persistence. Thirdly, it was his favourite saying that “every boy has a right to be taught”; he comes to school for that express purpose, and he and his parents are defrauded unless he has his full share of time and attention. Hence the strong disfavour shown to anything like exclusive care bestowed upon boys of talent. The fourth maxim was “the almighty wall,” by which he meant that the school with all its appointments—“the machinery and tools” he sometimes called them—were to be nothing short of the best. Education under these conditions he acknowledged to be a costly business, and he thought that the schooling of each boy must cost upon an average at least one hundred pounds a year.

Certainly Edward Thring had earned the right to speak his mind about education, for practically the whole of his life was spent in school. He entered the ranks, as we may say, when only eight years old, and even the home he left behind had

been marked by strict and formal discipline. He was born at a manor in Somersetshire in 1821. His father, who was both squire and rector in one, was a man of sterling worth, but hard, exacting, and inflexible. The son inherited a full share of his father's character, especially his masterful will; but a strain of gentler quality came from his mother, a lady in whom great intelligence, firmness, and sense of duty were united to a beautiful spirit of tenderness and sympathy.

He was sent to a dreary place for a child of eight. He never forgot it, and in one of his addresses to teachers he thus recalls his earliest trials:

My first acquaintance with school began at eight years old in an old-fashioned private school of the flog-flog, milk-and-water-at-breakfast type. All my life long the good and evil of that place has been with me. It is even now one of my strongest impressions, with its prim misery, the misery of a clipped hedge, with every clip through flesh and blood and fresh young feelings; its snatches of joy, its painful but honest work, grim but grimly in earnest, and its prison morality of discipline. The most lasting lesson of my life was the failure of suspicion and severity to get inside the boy-world, however much it troubled our outsides. Three long years were spent here.

The lesson was further enforced by his experiences at Eton, whither he passed at the age of eleven. There he spent nine years and had ample time to learn the merits and defects of that ancient institution. He had eaten King Henry's bread, as he was fond of saying, and was loyal to his school; but neither loyalty nor affection could blind him to grievous faults. Even in those early days he had some sturdily independent opinions about "Long Chamber," a land of misrule, where eighty scholars, boys of every age and temperament, were locked up together, in the dirt and the damp, from eight at night until the next morning; and about the classes where sixty at a time were gathered to be "taught" by one master. Yet he got on well himself, and had his triumphs: he was a collegier, became head of the school, and was the hero of the last Montem but one. At that amazing pageant—a kind of Academic Greenwich Fair enlivened by blackmail—the collection in his favour secured the sum of £1269 7s. 6d. Of course from this fair total the expenses, over £700, had to be deducted, and the bills really deserve to be studied by the curious student

of life and manners. The wine account, for instance, for entertaining his schoolfellows, many of them quite young, works out at fifteen shillings a head! No wonder the authorities began to think of abolishing the festival.

Still, after all payments, he had a very handsome amount to take with him to Cambridge. Being already on King Henry's Foundation, he became by right, Scholar, and in due course Fellow, of King's College. His six years there were exemplary and industrious, but not eventful. As the college could at that time claim degrees for its men without any examination—a state of things Thring did much to alter—he was not brought into competition with any of the rest of the University; still, he had the reputation of being the best classic of his year, and he carried off the coveted Porson prize for Greek verse. Ordination followed, apparently as a matter of course, and a curacy was found at Gloucester.

He was not long in discovering his true calling. When a very little boy nothing had pleased him better than helping his companions at their lessons and playing the schoolmaster. And now, though he was ever a devout and conscientious clergyman, it was his class at the National School that gave him more satisfaction than any of his other duties. Hard and unfamiliar as the work of dealing with his little pupils proved to be, he found it exhilarating. "There I have learnt the great secret of St. Augustine's golden key, which, though it be of gold, is useless unless it fits the wards of the lock." It was all very well to be familiar with "The fairy tales of science and the long result of time;" but he had to nourish not "a youth sublime," but the untrained minds of labourers' children. The experience he gained was of the utmost value; though it is probable that his whole conception of teaching was to the last too much coloured by these early efforts.

It is, moreover, a pity that this was his sole apprenticeship. Much friction might have been saved in later times, and trouble with his colleagues avoided, if he had for a while served as assistant under some capable chief strong enough to control him. But he never was an assistant master. Perhaps, indeed, he felt that with his strong, original views and his determined self-will he could only succeed where he was supreme. At all events he very soon applied for a headmaster-

ship. He was appointed in 1853 to the Grammar School of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, being then thirty-two years of age. "Life to the end of work, and work to the end of life," were favourite words of his. The last petition at any rate was granted. He died at his post.

"The towne of Uppingham consisteth of one meane streete," says a chronicler. Besides a *streete*, however, it has a parish church, where Jeremy Taylor had once been rector, and it possessed a "faire free Grammar School," founded "by God's grace," and well endowed by Robert Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Thring at once "saw possibilities in the place." So far it had been a useful but modest county school, with provision for a master and an usher. One assistant and a "writing instructor" were also employed, and that was all the staff, which was in fact ample for the twenty-five boys that composed the school when Thring entered upon his work. The buildings were two: a picturesque and antiquated master's house, and a schoolroom, Elizabethan indeed, but not serviceable. The revenues amounted to about a thousand a year, nearly all devoted to scholarships and exhibitions.

All is now transformed. A chapel, a new school, and all necessary buildings have been erected at great expense, handsome boarding-houses provided, lawns, gardens and playing-fields. The street is no longer mean, and the school takes rank with the best in England. All this has only been done at the cost of anxious labour and unyielding perseverance. In money alone it is computed that not less than £91,000 has been expended. What Thring found there stands, to what he left, only in the proportion of one to ten. The increase is entirely due to his own zeal, energy, and determination. It is something more, therefore, than the mere extravagance of eulogy that styles him "the second founder."

Beyond question it has been a great and arduous work, and, since the outward show is only the symbol of high and enduring principles, its benefits have flowed beyond the walls of Uppingham into many another school. Yet, when all that is granted, there still remains something to be considered. For nearly three hundred years the existing school had worthily served its purpose and had been of the greatest value to the

country round. It was governed by a body of Trustees, honourable men who, well content with its present usefulness, desired no changes either in its character or traditions. They had appointed Mr. Thring and they were his masters—so they thought ; but so did not he. His design, from the first, was to take this historic institution, enriched with ancient memories, to widen its scope, to adapt it to fresh needs, and to fashion it according to his own large plan. Want of harmony was thus inevitable between the governors and their headmaster. The curious thing is that never did so much as a momentary doubt or scruple arise in Thring's mind that he was not absolutely in the right throughout. He was vexed, irritated, angered with "the Trust." They caused him such suffering that even as late as 1873, after twenty years of unmatched service, he was on the point of resigning his office. But he never wavered in the conviction that they were all blindly in the wrong. He really was a man of far too absolute a temper to be directed by others, however good their right. If he had been willing to found a school entirely new and entirely his own, he would indeed have lost the historic associations so dear to him ; but such was his unparalleled energy that his achievement need not have been less, and his private happiness would have been far greater.

But he had made up his mind and he set to work. Mr. Skrine, who came to the school, a boy of twelve, some few years after Thring's appointment and when his reputation was steadily growing, gives us lifelike descriptions of the master to whom he was most loyally attached, but of whom he felt no little awe. That was the feeling of many boys when they first looked upon him. Small of stature and square-set, not gifted with a fine air of distinction like Dr. Arnold, he had nevertheless a wonderfully firm and confident bearing. The portraits prefixed to the "Life" show features genial, indeed, and kindly, but strong, hard, firm-set, with deep trenched lines about the mouth, and it is quite easy to believe that "writing one's name in the late book under the scorching eyes of the headmaster was as if a soul were recording its own misdeeds under the eyes of the avenging angel ;" and again, that "he read the Psalms as no one else did, taking a great joy, as it seemed to us, in the fierce ones."

For all his severity, however, and rather rigid justice, the boys all felt that they were known with an intimate personal knowledge, and most of them loved as well as feared him. He had, in fact, a deep sense of the pastoral relation between himself and them. It was not indeed, nor could it be, that tie at once so close yet so austere between the priest and his youthful penitent; but it was of kindred nature, and the finer spirits were conscious of it.

But his strong, resolute character was also marked by odd angularities. He seems to have been for ever making speeches, and probably *sermonised* his boys far too much, while the excessive exuberance of his language must sometimes have left them with a disdainful sense of amusement rather than any dread. It is stated that of denunciatory terms he had a repertory Shakesperean in its wealth and pungency: "umitigated jackasses," "stupendous idiots," "unadulterated mooncalves," "grocers' assistants" (name of doubtful interpretation), "rebels," "pothouse heroes," "dead horses," "curvetting carthorses," "supercilious ditto," &c., &c. This is but a hasty and beggarly *florilegium*.

At the same time it is only just to state that if any serious case arose—lying, bullying, or worse—he refrained completely from such wild words, and spoke in measured language admirably grave and direct.

As in every way school was to be better than home, his care for the comfort and well-being of the boys was untiring. About the quality of their food he was almost fastidiously particular, and he always exacted that masters of other boarding-houses should conform to his own high standard. In a letter to one of them he especially requires, for example, that the beer must be quite as good as that supplied in his own schoolhouse. Some reformers may be inclined to urge that boys would be better without it altogether; but Thring, a man of exemplary moderation and extremely severe upon any cases of drinking, thought well to provide it in very liberal sufficiency and strength. His notion about this and kindred matters was that, if there is at the table enough of good things and to spare, boys will be far less tempted to gratify themselves in undesirable ways, or to get into thoughtless habits of extravagance; and as the formation of character

was his incessant care, he regarded the whole subject as of very great moment.

Mr. Skrine gives a humorous account of what the entertainment was like :

At half-past one he presided at our dinner in the schoolhouse. He pronounced a longish Latin grace sonorously ; then from the ample withers of the Leicestershire sheep he hewed masculine portions, broad and long. So did Achilles carve for Ulysses and Ajax. His carving was epic but not good. But he served others as he served himself. For diet he did not "hold opinion with Pythagoras," or perhaps with dietetic advisers nearer home, but lived chiefly upon flesh. Sweets he would none of. Perhaps he erred, but it was a noble error. In meats and drinks he was of the purest temperance. In this, as in all his conduct of the body, appetite had no hearing : what made for efficiency in work gave him his rule. For his was the temperance not of the ascetic, but of the soldier or the athlete. "Fasting?" I once heard him say, "why, for a man who is trying to do his work in the best way, life is a perpetual fast;" at which his robust interlocutor looked baffled. And, indeed, for better digestions the saying is less true.

"Self-confidence," he had said to a friend, "is not a deficiency in the Thring family." It was well, for the task he was beginning was destined to make the heaviest demand upon all his powers to the end of his days. He had from the outset his plan ready formed and committed to writing with nearly every detail. Then as the numbers began to increase, slowly however at first, he proceeded to carry it into effect. First, the "almighty wall" had to be built. He surrendered his own exclusive right to receive boarders, with all its chances of large profit, for the definite reason that a school must never be a barracks, and that "men are not trained to freedom in a prison." Then by degrees he secured land and had well-appointed houses of residence erected. They were most carefully designed, and it was an imperative requirement that each boy was to have his own separate cubicle in the dormitory and also his own study. The possibility of privacy he held to be essential. Fortunately he was able to secure, as his first assistants, personal friends of liberal spirit like his own, who aided him largely from their private means. Otherwise his difficulties must have increased tenfold.

After the home for his scholars, their corporate life had to be considered. With his reverent mind he was grieved to
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think that they could only worship together in an unworthy corner of the gallery in the parish church. After long negotiations he succeeded in getting full use of the building at such times on Sunday as it was not needed by the congregation. It was not enough. Then he had to set about trying to conquer the suspicion and distrust of the governors, who did not share any of his views, to secure at least their help in providing a really worthy chapel. The need was urgent; but it was long before he gained even their permission. The contest went on for nearly eight years. A splendid gift of £1000, when all seemed hopeless, from Mr. Witts, an Eton friend, now one of his colleagues, enabled him to begin the building. It was finished in 1865, at a cost of £10,000, and presented to the Trust. Every stone of it had to be bought by his own exertions and trials. More than that: at the very same time he was engaged upon the fine hall which is used as the great schoolroom. This, like the chapel, was made a free gift to the Foundation. And still more: as he cherished the Greek ideal *γυμναστικὴ καὶ μουσικὴ*, Uppingham was the first school in England where a sound training in music was made a prominent part of the course, as it was the first to possess a properly equipped gymnasium; and it was the first also to maintain, in a poor and crowded neighbourhood, one of those school missions that are now fairly common.

Such labours entailed more than rebuffs and anxieties. Although some time before his days were ended he was able to see his long-cherished plans in full realisation, his success was so crossed and chequered by disappointment that all his joy was clouded. It lay in his power, if he had so chosen, to be a rich man: he remained not only poor, but worse than poor, for he was crushed beneath a load of debt. Only three years after his appointment he was involved to the extent of nearly £3000, and had besides given a guarantee to certain of his masters of £700 a year—and this was only the beginning. He was the very soul of honesty, and had secured by insurances and otherwise that his creditors should not suffer; but for long years he was wretched in not knowing what might be the future of his brave wife and his children. The entries in the diary are truly pitiful to read, and the intolerable burden of ever-increasing debt caused him positive bodily anguish.

But neither these nor any troubles checked the vigour of his early government. His presence and his personal influence were everywhere. The main idea of his system was that the boys must have large liberty and must learn how to use it, and that if any of them will misuse their freedom, they must be visited with correspondingly severe penalties. They were trusted, and must prove themselves worthy. In every way they were encouraged to grow into a sense of what is called solidarity, of "frank-pledge," of mutual responsibility. This made him, no doubt, far too ready to inflict those collective punishments which usually operate very unjustly; but he stoutly maintained the opinion that any society is, or ought to be, strong enough to throw off vicious elements, and expected that the whole body should act together in surrendering grave offenders. When he came to punish any such he was not in the least hampered by any weakness of modern sentiment. He fully believed in corporal punishment. "Learning is *pain*," he says emphatically, "and unless the unwillingness to face the one pain is met by another pain there is no remedy." It then becomes the question what is the most appropriate pain to inflict. To set additional tasks when a boy has failed to do the ordinary portion is absurd; keeping boys in is detrimental to health; any food punishment is the same. The quickest and most effectual remedy is flogging.

He had once to speak very plainly to a father, whose boy, unexpectedly, owing to instructions from home, had defied the headmaster by refusing the ordeal. The letter deserves quoting. After saying that in all punishment passion and caprice should be eliminated, he goes on:

No man is more alive than myself to the fact how easily punishment is made by a bad master the substitute for efficiency; everybody here is aware of this. . . . I have yet to learn that a society of boys or men gathered together from all quarters is to be managed without punishment or ever has been. The question is reduced to a choice of punishments, and in spite of modern cant I think flogging is the very best remedy, for some breaches of discipline particularly. Our dormitories are not large; your boy would not have been found out if they had been uncared for. I demur to the wisdom of perpetual surveillance and do not mean to allow it here. Boys should be trusted, and if they break trust punished. . . . We have no other fault against your son, excepting that having required great care and forbearance when he

came, and received it, he has lately grown very unruly, as might, I think, be expected from the instructions he had received. I do feel deeply aggrieved that in utter ignorance of our system of punishments you should have sent your boy here under direct instructions to mutiny against our authority without giving me a hint of such a thing.

How could a government stand if this was often done? It reflects upon us as professional men, it reflects on the school, it sets up our pupils, however young, to be the judges and thwarters of earnest and experienced men. How can good come of it? as you express a hope it may. But however that may be, we had a right to expect the choice of refusing to deal with a boy at all under direct instructions to mutiny when sent here. I had a right not to be exposed to the ignorant and impertinent refusal of your little boy to be flogged for a grave discipline offence, and the open contempt of my lawful, thoughtful, and experienced authority involved in this. . . . Masters do not deserve such a return for their life work. . . . I am prepared in the face of the world to uphold any and every part of our system under a wiser criticism and scrutiny, but not to submit it to the caprice of rebellious little boys.

Nevertheless it was not an authority that he would delegate to any other man. In nothing was he more strict than in reserving this power to himself. Two short but very stern letters are given in which he rebukes a master who had taken the law into his own hands. In the first he says :

I have been informed that you are not free from the charge of striking boys. If this is true let me direct your attention to the accompanying printed rules, which, however, you are not ignorant of. And let me also state that the master who violates that rule does it at the risk of instant dismissal.

The second is to the same master :

I will not mix up any other matter with this important question of striking boys. Before I came here I taught a rougher set than you have ever had and under worse circumstances; I never struck a boy, and I never will permit a boy to be struck. Any master who is convicted of breaking this law does not remain a master in the school. . . . I will beg you to bear in mind that no merit, no attention to work, no time of service will weigh in my mind against a breach of this law.

It would be a complete mistake to suppose that he desired to be a flogging schoolmaster—*plagosus Orbilius*. On the contrary, he held the sound belief that excessive punishment is almost always a sign of weakness in a teacher. He speaks plainly to one of his staff :

I observe with much concern both the number of boys you report for punishment, and still more the reasons you give for their punishment. I know the boys, and I have no hesitation in saying that nothing but grave incapacity for management on your part can account for some of them having conducted themselves as you report them to have done.

Not only so: there are repeated instances given of his great and sensitive tenderness, of the pain he felt when he was forced to extremities, and of the affection manifested to him by boys whom he had been obliged to treat severely.

Had in D — and B — after chapel to-day, and convicted them and told them I should require their withdrawal at the end of term, and I flogged them severely. I was deeply touched after their caning by their coming up to me, and D — said, "But won't you forgive us yourself, sir? Do forgive us yourself!" I assured them that I would, and that I would never recollect it against them. . . . Indeed, I could have cried myself, so much did I feel the trust and honour that these two poor fellows showed for me.

And at another time:

Have been taking leave of my Easter boys. A very sad and solemn thing with so large a proportion leaving in disgrace. Poor little —! I could not refrain from tears; he came round the table, child as he is, to my side, crying, to wish good-bye. It was very piteous; may Christ deliver him and all of us.

Discipline and conduct were his first concern, but he possessed all the temperament of a teacher. It is hardly too much to say that he fidgetted to impart instruction, nor does lack of ability seem to have interfered with his complacent zeal. Long before he knew much about roses he would readily instruct in the art of budding, and, though personal ailments prevented him from standing in the proper position at the wicket, he would authoritatively teach little boys to play cricket his way.

His persuasion was that, for training the mind to think, no method was comparable to Socratic questioning, wherein he fancied himself rather an adept. His manuals give many examples, some of them probably transcripts from experience in the parish school at Gloucester. If the dialogues are correctly reported, one's sympathy goes out to the pupils. There is one which labours the allegory that school is fairyland and

knowledge queen of the fairies; but surely this kind of thing needs all the genius of Plato. The great objection is that it is a method far too cumbersome, too indirect, too irritating for anything like common use. It is, besides, quite ineffective, because ordinary 'children are merely puzzled by the necessary irony, fail to catch the drift of the questioning, are far too shy to answer properly, and rapidly become bored. They imagine it to be a very misplaced trifling, which causes, as it easily may, a sad waste of precious time.

In fact, it is hard to resist the thought that his classes were not infrequently both dull and tiresome. He used at one time, on Thursday afternoons, to take the fourth form, in the treatise—to lively boys rather remote in interest—"De Senectute." The proceedings, as described, were inexpressibly cheerless and tedious, and the bald literalness to which he reduced everything made it a weekly penance of the most disagreeable kind. This is the witness of his pupil and friend, who thinks he was more terrible to little boys than he knew or meant, and that if he had been less awful they would have done better.

Sometimes, too, his questions were of the vaguest. Divinity, which formed the first lesson of each day, was his favourite and most engrossing subject. Of this class the following story is current. He entered the schoolroom one morning with his most serious air, and addressing one of the boys by name, put this truly remarkable question: "Now, about Abraham?" Not a word of any further indication was granted, and the scholar displayed a not unnatural confusion. So did the rest of the class in turn. Thring thereupon in picturesque style expressed his scornful disgust and his intention of repeating the exact question next day. In the consternation which ensued the happy thought occurred of sending a telegram, "What on earth does Thring mean by: Now, about Abraham?" to Oxford, where some of the last year's class were familiar with his treatment of the patriarch. The morning post brought adequate explanations, and the reputation of the sixth form was saved. In like manner he startled them one morning by demanding a set of original elegiacs on "To-day," and, when it was gently represented that the theme lacked definiteness, told them shortly to use their eyes and minds.

Still, behind all the method, faulty or not, there was always the man, and he did succeed in interesting and stimulating his scholars, even when they grumbled that his manner of teaching Greek or Latin prose did not pay. He had written his own manuals on grammar, and on these, says Mr. Skrine,

we were reared. We grumbled a little even then, because our University candidates were disadvantaged by the use of a terminology which examiners would not accept as legal tender, yet we hugged a secret joy in holding a solution of the subjunctive which not even an examiner could understand. We had the same complex feeling about all his teaching. For the University markets it was not the best, but of its own kind it was grand. It was on lines unrecognised outside, and it did not cover the ground fast enough, detaining us with elaborate analysis and questioning for an hour together over a score of verses in a Greek play, so that we went to college with much leeway to make up. But then, that score of verses! What fire he could put into them! It was not by wealth of illustration, by ingenuity of paraphrase, by subtle development of a shade of meaning, that he awoke our sympathy with an author (want of time and reading made him constrained in the use of these arts), but by the sheer energy of his own sympathy, the intensity of his conception of a situation, a scene; his masculine enjoyment of a rich word, a trenchant phrase; and the consciousness we derived that his conception, right or wrong, was never at second hand.

It must also in justice be remembered that academic laurels had been won from the school; Mr. Skrine himself, like Lewis Nettleship who preceded him, took the highest honours that Oxford has to bestow; and there is a very fair amount of University success recorded in the diary. Nevertheless, it remains true that the praise claimed for Uppingham is the soundness and effectiveness of its moral rather than its intellectual results. In this last the yield was far scantier. The principle of equality was exaggerated and deprived the abler boys of that special attention which is the birthright of ability, and as a consequence "the currents of mediocrity set towards Uppingham, those of genius in other directions."

Nor could it be expected that in the most difficult and delicate part of his work—the moral training of the young—he should be exempt from trial or failure. As the years went on, though he had at all times excellent reason to be proud of the school, some of the lustre of the early days disappeared, and he felt occasionally that even his own personal influence

was diminishing. His year of "moral trial" was 1873, when he was disheartened by the sense of a weakening of the bonds, of loss of touch, and to some extent of a relaxation in the discipline. Gloom and despondency caused him for a moment to think of resignation; but he recovered, with a vigorous resolve to "fight the ship" alone if need be.

The boys were not the only cause of dejection. Except in the earliest days it would be hard to say when he was really in cordial and happy relation with his colleagues for long together. Even with the oldest masters, his own schoolfellows, he often failed to get on well. Freedom of discussion was the rule at the masters' meetings, but Thring constantly shows himself intolerant of any opinion but his own, and is ever expressing the utmost contempt for what he terms "their jaw." Kind and generous he could be, but also, as they felt, unjust to their prospects and forgetful of their sacrifices. It is true that his sense of the remuneration due to them was liberal. He thought that every house-master ought to get a clear £1000 a year, and considered that really competent assistants cannot, except by accident, be secured under £500. Yet, in spite of genuine considerateness, he was not formed to agree well with others, and that for the want of pliancy, tact, and social ingenuity.

Neither again, through all these years, did he become on much improved terms with his board of governors. He was annoyed at the lack of sympathy and understanding which constantly thwarted his plans. And in the last years of his life he was deeply wounded by their refusal to allow him the full scale of capitation fees. It was, indeed, the meanest, most ungenerous return for his splendid services, and seems quite inconceivable except upon the ground of personal feeling.

These were his daily battles. He had also at one period to engage in a long contest with a more exalted body—the Public Schools Commission. Their proposals, rendered necessary by the scandalous inefficiency and mismanagement prevailing in too many places, included Uppingham in measures implying some degree of secularisation and control. Thring was more disposed to call it sacrilege and spoliation: "they shall walk over my dead body first," he said. After a most persistent

fight he succeeded in convincing the Commission that the original foundation only represented one-tenth of the property now invested in the school, and that all the rest was due to private bounty and enterprise. The scheme was therefore largely amended in his favour. One lasting outcome of the long and wearisome business was the well-known "Headmasters' Conference," of which Thring first conceived the idea after one or two informal meetings to agree upon combined action. It met for the first time, under his presidency, in the year 1869.

There remained one other fierce conflict to be waged, not merely against human obstinacy, but against the terrible unseen forces of disease and death. The most dramatic episode in the history of English schools can be narrated here only in the barest outline. In the late summer of 1875, when the boys, just returned from their holidays, ought to have been in their best vigour, languor and listlessness were apparent, several cases of serious illness followed, and then, with scarcely an interval, first one, then a second, then a third death. The startling truth became plain that they were drinking from poisoned wells. In November all were dismissed, and within the school premises all that care and skill could do was done to effect a remedy. In January of the memorable year 1876 work was resumed, and for a little while it was hoped that the danger had passed.

It soon proved greater than ever. The fault lay not anywhere in the school, but in the appalling state of the town drainage. In Thring's phrase, "Uppingham was unclean and obstinate, and they were held in the bondage of local self-misgovernment." For all that, he discouraged the boys from "deserting," as he energetically called it, and declared that so long as one of them remained to be taught the school should remain open, with himself and the other masters at their post. But the peril of the crisis proved too great: he was harassed besides with a war of pamphlets and openly called a murderer. The plague increased and one calamity followed another. And so on Sunday, March 12, a day of wild and stormy weather, all met together in the chapel for the last time before they separated. The hope was that they should reassemble in three weeks' time; but where or how was beyond any man's power

to tell. A verse in the service struck upon the ears of the listeners and brought a ray of comfort to the sorely tried headmaster. He read with feeling the words occurring in the lesson: "I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land."

"The school at Uppingham came to an end," is the comment which Thring appended to his verses entitled "The Summons." *Ibi omnis effusus labor.* His lines, with their Euripidean insistence of epithet, show him for the moment broken and dispirited:

The fair sun shone, but ghastly and wan
There came a spectral dream;
The stone stood fast, but a dim fear passed
Through buttress and roof and beam.
With sad, sad heart did life depart,
A ghostly silence fell;
With sad, sad heart they turned to depart,
And—farewell, home, farewell!

Indeed, the task might well dismay the strongest. It was no less than to transfer three hundred scholars with all their equipment, the masters and their families, the army of servants, to new and, moreover, temporary quarters, and that within the space of a few days. And there was the additional trouble that the Trustees absolutely refused to take any cognisance whatever of the school except at Uppingham. Decision was imperative, and Thring had to decide alone; but so long as he had life he could answer the call to action. His bold stroke was justified by complete success; while his energy, his generalship, undaunted spirit, and fertility of resource commanded universal attention and respect. Henceforth he was known to the world at large as well as to his own profession.

The home required was found on the Welsh coast, at Borth, near Aberystwith; and the story of the sojourn there has been widely read, as it deserves, in the stirring pages called "Uppingham by the Sea." Absence for just one term would, it was hoped, be enough; but fourteen months had to elapse before return was possible. In the meanwhile the town had been shaken out of its indifference, and forced to bestir itself earnestly about making its sanitary gear effective. The boys came back amid triumphant welcomes in May 1877. From

this time forward Mr. Thring was held in far greater regard by the townspeople, and took a more active part than ever before in their various schemes for social improvement. Among them all, perhaps, the cookery class was his favourite, where his short pithy sayings on the homely but most necessary subject of food were held weighty in wisdom. "Man is the bread-winner," as he told them, "and there is no reason why woman should be the bread-waster; nor any more reason why a poor man should eat a vile potato than a rich man."

He had ten more years to live, and his influence now passed beyond the limits of school and town. His opinions did not by any means always command assent, but he was recognised as a leader and man of mark. Tokens of recognition reached him from across the Atlantic, and from the rising body of women teachers, with whose work he was ever in warm sympathy. Still later he received with a special pleasure the cordial invitation of the very important "Teachers' Guild," to which he may almost be said to have addressed his last will and testament on the training of mind and character. In these and many ways he had the satisfaction of feeling no longer isolated and solitary.

Probably no tribute to his work and influence was more welcome than the letters from old pupils, who, besides testifying the esteem in which they held him, were anxious for his counsel and encouragement. He never spared himself the heavy labour of correspondence, and his replies were always inspiring. To none were they more helpful than to his brilliant and attached pupil, Richard Lewis Nettleship, of Balliol College, who had far more than fulfilled the early promise of his school days, and whose rising fame was only cut short by his untimely death. Some of the letters that passed between them are given in the biography, and show the deep trust and regard in which each held the other. And yet it was inevitable that they should in time outlive their intimacy, though they could not outlive their affection. The acute and subtle intellect of Lewis Nettleship passed without effort into regions where his master—a typical Cambridge man who could neither like nor understand the Oxford mind—was unable to follow. Thring was nothing of a philosopher; speculation and questions of scepticism lay wholly outside his

province. As little, too, was he a casuist. Hence, when men in perplexity applied to him for advice, they found that he was splendid in bracing the moral system, and in clearing away the cobwebs of confusion or self-interest, but that all he really did was to state with rigorous emphasis a general doctrine, of perfection rather than precept, and leave them to apply it to their own case. It is quite characteristic of his mind that in a domain where so much is relative, where it is proverbially true that circumstances alter cases, he must needs prefer the absolute.

This trenchant, uncompromising quality will be found to influence all his utterances, always indeed noteworthy and not seldom valuable, upon the subject that lay nearest his heart, namely, education. Although at first he met with very scant encouragement, the number of his works reaches the respectable total of twenty-three. Probably that by which he is best known is the "Theory and Practice of Teaching," of which several editions have issued from the Cambridge Press. And probably also the shortest criticism of it would prove the best—"often true, but not the whole truth;" while nearly every one will feel that the end is much better than the beginning.

As the title indicates, the first half of the book deals with the theory of teaching. The treatment is quite original. Instead of the terms we expect to meet—perception, attention, reflex consciousness, and the like echoes of psychology—we are confronted with headings such as these: "Olla Podrida," "Legs not wings," "The Schoolboy's briar-patch," "Run the goose down." And there are others quite as unexpected. For all his affectation of exact reasoning and sprinkling of logical terms, Thring is the very slave of metaphor. The worst of it is that he calls his parables "a statement of fact." Thus, the mere thought that a school may possibly be inspected makes him cry out, "How are schoolmasters to be treated? Should they be made subject to their inferiors, and their skilled work placed under non-workmen?" Of the skilled work of some of them the less said the better; but he must have known that no one out of Bedlam ever proposed such a thing. Again, we learn that the two results of our present education are simply these: "prize-winners big-headed dwarfs; the neglected boys hollow-headed animals with no intellectual skill." To offer this as a

statement of fact is surely to betray what Mr. Matthew Arnold would have called a sad want of inwardness and insight.

Perhaps it is this want of balance and proportion that makes his paragraphs such curiosities. Their length is astonishing. One of them stretches in majesty over four ample pages, from 47 to 51, and there are others to emulate its noble fulness. By way of contrast, it is followed by one of the shortest on record, which reads thus briefly: "Mind must touch mind." By this oracular statement he means to enforce and drive home the essence of his saving precepts as to the right way in education. Mechanical force is of no use; intellectual scarcely better. "The most complete definition of the right way is *the winning love by love*. But this definition"—mark the strict use of terms—"requires expansion, illustration, and practical handling." There are, he tells us, three gradations in love when a learner is in question. These are docility, love of subject, and communion of feeling. And when we are breathless to know how to cultivate these priceless gifts in ourselves and our pupils, we are instructed that it depends on "position, the right point of view," which is "part of the pre-working law," and we are then led through a series of parables founded successively upon a wheat-field, a cathedral, a burglar, and courtship.

But the master-error that runs through the whole of his writings is the vicious *dichotomy*, the positive divorce he makes between the moral and the intellectual, between character and knowledge. It is a strange position for a schoolmaster, and even his admirer and friend, Mr. Skrine, is forced to admit that "his mysticism, his depreciation of the intellectual side of life, was overdone."

To develop power, he says, is the true end of training. There is mechanic power, there is the hard automaton of intellect, and, thirdly, there is the living power of true feeling which is peculiar to man as man, and which uses the other two as its instruments. "Love is not learnt. Love sees. Nothing can be more practical than this." Doubtless there is a sense in which the words are very true; but how do they help a man who desires to know the art of teaching? Or does the conclusion give any more guidance?—

It follows from this that the burglar, who thinks to break in by force

of intellect, and wrest the secret power of such a spirit-home of beauty from the spirit within, is little likely to win the queen who dwells there in her home. The burglar intellect will be an outcast ever from the home of higher life.

Similarly he declares that the strong head is no better than the strong arm, and that to render it honour is only the worship of force, and deadly. And of course he decries the memory: "no memory work can be true mind work." Such are the extravagances that he would offer as the reasonings of experience.

Exactly the same reckless exaggeration is found in the address to the Teachers' Guild. "Knowledge-worship is the deadly enemy to the loving eye and the humble spirit." And more wildly still: "The banner of knowledge set up in a kingdom means death to true progress, death to the vast majority if unchecked." Not until after we have been baffled by a thousand maxims of this kind does he deign to explain that by knowledge he means "second-hand information." But then, as that is in his own express words "the sum of all the facts collected, noted, and laid up by the labour and research of those who have gone before us," one is still at a loss to know why it is deadly.

The truth is that he was too much of an enthusiast properly to weigh his words. What he meant was that you must rouse and stimulate independent thought: "mind is lazy; mind will do everything but think." In the like spirit we must interpret his favourite catch-words: "Pre-working law. Think in shape. Pictorial mind." If we were to take literally all that he says about the last, education would be reduced to the level of a magic-lantern lecture. There was the same kind of indefinite fervour about his constant expression "true life." This last was a term of great amplitude and ill-defined extent, employed so incessantly that "it lost descriptive force and became the medium of a moral emotion." At first, no doubt, he used his picturesque phrases as graphic symbols to arrest attention. Then he grew to believe them to be more than formulas, and uttered them as a kind of charm.

Yet, when all is said, the books have a use and value, and may in some ways be worth as much as many an ambitious volume of pedagogy new come from Göttingen or Jena. The

"Theory and Practice" is no scientific treatise; it assumes that the mind can be taught to think *in vacuo*, without subjects to think about; it confuses the spirit of teaching with the matter to be taught. But upon the spirit of teaching it is excellent, full of warm, living speech of a good and capable man upon a subject of which he has had long experience and about which he is in utter earnest. Schoolmasters will read with pleasure his fine, vigorous plea for independence, his sturdy condemnation of mere lifeless routine, his shrewd suggestions for class management and the like. Nor, though he was too prone to call harmless, necessary examinations "a blight upon teaching," are his criticisms without wisdom. He points out how varying and uncertain are the principles that control them, as well as the large personal element frequently overlooked. "One University takes cleverness as its standard. What is cleverness?" The examiner can only go by his own impression, and that is not infallible. "Another University demands accuracy and marks by faults; but even the relative value of faults admits of wide difference of opinion." Some examiners give credit for showy diction, which others consider a sign of weakness. Others like logical and concise statements, and so on. If the same men are constantly employed, their peculiarities become known, and teaching becomes narrowed to meet them.

Again, most examiners are young and are sent, fresh from their books and their laurels, to pass judgment on what they have not been accustomed to, and tabulate the lifelong labours of men who, having been their equals in intellectual honours twenty, thirty, forty years before, have added since the experience of successful work during those years to their early success in book work.

Of course there are plenty of counter-considerations; but no one will assert that these contentions are wanting in force.

Strange are the contrasts in one man's character. This champion never weary of the fray had a poetic fancy both true and tender and the gift of tuneful verse. It would not be entirely wrong to call him a lesser Wordsworth turned schoolmaster. From the nature of the case, some of his school songs have too strident a note, and once, at any rate, he permits himself the oddest of odd metaphors—a simile worthy of Mr. Gilbert and the Savoy opera:

On many a grave the flowers are gay,
Oft ruin creeping on his prey
Puts forth a velvet paw in play.

But there is melody and feeling in these echoes of Uppingham :

Ring out, old bells of Uppingham,
Go forth, old bells,
O'er ancient school and gables grey.
Through wreathèd nooks and flowery spray ;
Each flower, each wreath,
A young boy's hope—ah well—
Each lichen clinging there,
Old memories fair.

And he catches the true spirit of his master in lines like these :

Chimes there are on earth, harmonious splendours,
Subtle symphonies of ear and eye,
Yea, dim bridals, where the mortal spirit
Weds a half-veiled immortality.

As becomes a Wordsworthian also, he had a real power over the sonnet—no easy thing to handle well. To the following graceful purpose does he adapt, for the tercentenary festival, the old classic myth of that building by Apollo and Poseidon, “ while Ilion like a mist rose into towers : ”

Slow rose of breathèd adamant the wall
Of Troy, as wave on wave of charmed sound
Hung, crystal fixed, the holy centre round,
Close-bonded light and music girding all.
So on the old school came a spirit-call,
Stirred the deep harp which thrice a hundred years
Had strung with all their gladness, all their tears,
Made light and faith in living music fall.
Then rose the strong foundations ; to the sound
Of ghostly chant and angel whispers, grew
Tier upon tier of melody spellbound,
To last while lasts the heavenly strain ! O you
Who dwell within the circle, wiser found,
Cheat not the immortal builder of his due.

It is rather curious that his verses should be good, because his sense of literary form was, after all, defective. It was suspected that he liked Ovid's hexameters as well as Virgil's,

and he read *all* Wordsworth—which is the very excess of impartiality. “He would read,” we are told, “an inferior book without being offended by its poor English, if the moral was good.” That is just what the literary man proper could not do. Indeed, it is strange that a sound classical scholar could have had so little of the temper of the man of letters. It is difficult, for instance, to imagine him treating Horace sympathetically.

Partly, it was the simple resolute earnestness of his nature that made him indifferent to mere artistic form, and partly also some defect of humour that left him without a due sense of proportion, and in a mood of too habitual seriousness. The humour he had was not ungenial, but neither was it elastic nor gay. Thus it is that even his familiar letters have no sparkle. His thought was always grave and religious, and in religion it is quite remarkable how unswerving was his adherence to the Established Church. Not only was the Anglican position never questioned; so far as one can see, it was never even examined or compared or tested, but was taken for granted with the completest acquiescence.

This in the present century cannot fail to be astonishing, but it is partly accounted for by the fact that there is, throughout the diary or letters, scarcely a trace of theological study, nor even of any reading in philosophy or history. In fact, the literary interest of any sort is meagre. As he had married a German lady it was natural that he should read German, but he does not seem to have done so very easily. Of French we hear nothing, and, in spite of some travel, he was so untouched by foreign influences as to be altogether insular. Mr. Skrine claims that his mind moved by intuitions rather than reasoning, and considers this the explanation of many idiosyncrasies. After this general statement he continues:

And last I bring under the same explanation some qualities of his style. He was exuberant in tropes, and he was great in aphorisms. Imagery was the natural expression of a mind that saw truth in imagery, in pictures flashed upon the mental eye; and the abrupt isolated aphorism was well fitted to convey conclusions which, however correct, could not by the nature of the case produce their premisses, and were left as it were in the air.

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It is not surprising, therefore, that there is little account to be given of any mental changes. His opinions were fixed, and to the end he was an honest old-fashioned Tory. On social questions his views are so crude that he seems to look on poverty as being almost invariably due to a man's own fault, and marriage among the very poor he inclines to regard as something almost immoral. He writes at some length upon these subjects; but he had never had any training in economics, and his theories would by any school be considered inadequate. Yet here again is many a flash of insight:

Christianity itself cannot lodge large families in one room in a civilised country and remain Christian. The Christianity either breaks up the one room into many, or the one room breaks up the Christianity. If a stronger power fixes the one room as permanent, good-bye to Christianity.

Life was strong in him up to the unexpected end. At the opening of his last school term he was full of activity and was cheered by the multiplying evidences of the esteem and honour in which his name was held. He was gratified by the invitation to preach at Harrow, at Cambridge, and in Worcester Cathedral; and he returned glad and happy, without any thought that his days were already numbered. Yet it was so. On Saturday, October 15, 1887, he read the prayers for the last time in the schoolhouse, and it was often recalled afterwards that the Psalm contained one of his favourite verses: "So he fed them with a faithful and true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power." It was such an epitaph as he would have loved, though his humility would have been quick to forbid the claim. On the next day he was obliged suddenly to cease in the chapel service, and walked through the kneeling ranks of his scholars to his bed of sickness and death. There was a week of suspense, and then he passed away. His comfort lay in the conviction that he had done a work for Christ. That work, and the principles that guided it, time is even now testing; but something will surely endure, and it cannot be that a "true life," rich in devotion and usefulness, will pass altogether out of remembrance.

ALFRED HERBERT, M.A.

ART. III.—SOME HISTORICAL NOTES FROM THE MARGINS OF A MANUSCRIPT.

LAST year a manuscript was put into the writer's hands, which needs no more detailed account in this place than the statement that it was a Sarum Breviary. It was altogether a sorry volume, for among the many and various mutilations it had suffered, not the least were the scrawls which disfigured its margins. And yet, deplore such vandalism as we may, it is just these very scrawls which we should now least like to lose, for they serve to recall forgotten men and episodes; they help to tell a tale to those who care to read it.

As I turned over the pages my attention was first attracted by the names *Margaret* and *Isabella Erdeswick*, and they naturally aroused my curiosity as to whether the name of *Sampson Erdeswick*, the Staffordshire antiquary, might not also occur somewhere. A further investigation soon showed, amongst many others of the same family, the name of *Sampson Coyney*, and this was sufficient proof that the volume had at one time formed part of the collection of the famous Catholic antiquary and historian of Staffordshire, who was, as nearly as might be, contemporary year for year with Queen Elizabeth. From him it would have come into the possession of the Coyneys, by the marriage of one of his daughters into that family. Mr. Joseph Gillow has furnished us with a short biography of this learned man in his "Dictionary of Catholic Biography,"* and a still fuller account has found a place in the pages of the "Dictionary of National Biography."† This latter, however, deals almost exclusively with the literary aspect of his career, and with the questions and doubts which have been raised from time to time in connection with his antiquarian labours. But this by no means represents all that might be written about him; exigency of space and the nature of the valuable works mentioned precluded exhaustive treatment. There were other members of the family, too, whose careers, as

* Vol. ii. pp. 174-75.

† Vol. xvii. p. 388, *seq.*

far as we know them, are full of interest; and yet, not such as to justify their inclusion in the lives of public or well-known characters. The history of the Erdeswick family is not an eventful one, except when the burning question of religious belief and practice filled men's minds; and then the Erdeswicks gave out the ring of true good metal, for every member without exception proved staunch to the faith of his forefathers. There are many other families, doubtless, that could show as good a record of persecution endured, and it is to be hoped that the story of their struggles shall one day come to be written. This sketch is offered as a contribution to so desirable an undertaking.

The family of Erdeswick traces its descent from the reign of the Conqueror. The earlier generations must be allowed to stand on their own merits in company with the other apocryphal pedigrees which are accepted as authentic for want of more precise information. Yet there is enough to assure us of the great antiquity of this Staffordshire race. Our concern is not with any of these, however, but with Hugh, the father of the antiquary, who was the first to fall on unhappy times, and whose staunchness under fiery trial helped to preserve the faith to us.

By an Inquisition post mortem of 2 Henry VIII., we learn that his *father*, Sampson, was born in 1490; his *son* Sampson was, as nearly as can be ascertained, born in 1537; his own birth would, therefore, have taken place about 1513-15. He was thus old enough to have witnessed the dissolution of the monasteries and the other changes of the Reformation which followed one another in such quick succession till the death of Edward VI. in 1553.

No sooner was Mary on the throne, and no sooner had the dark desolation of the previous years of pillage begun to give way before the genial sunshine engendered by the restoration of the old faith, than Hugh Erdeswick sent his young son, Sampson, to the University of Oxford, where he was entered as a commoner on the books of Brasenose College, and as Anthony à Wood quaintly says, "he laid the foundation of some learning that advanced him to greater in future times." But the death of Mary and the accession of her sister Elizabeth dashed all the prospects and hopes of a Catholic revival to the

ground, and the adherents of the old faith had to choose between apostasy and persecution or exile.

It is rather singular that we hear nothing of either of the Erdeswicks during the first seventeen years of the new reign, and that then they should both leap into such prominence as public documents record. It is clear that it was not a sudden notoriety which they then brought on themselves, but was the result of a consistent resistance offered by them to the religious measures of the Government, and to its civil and ecclesiastical officials. The probability is that they had been undergoing a steady pressure of persecution like their neighbours, with intervals of respite and quiet; and that the earliest mention of them in the State Papers in 1575 is merely the first record that has been preserved.

Queen Elizabeth made periodical royal progresses through her dominions; and on these occasions her Council was in the habit of attending upon her, and transacted its usual business *en route*. It thus happened that at a session of the Council held at Sudeley Castle on August 12, 1575, complaints were apparently lodged against the Erdeswicks, and precepts were accordingly issued, enjoining their appearance before the Privy Council, to answer for refusing to come to the church. Five days later, when another sitting was held at Worcester (August 17, 1575), several of the recusants of Staffordshire appeared before the Queen's councillors, all to answer for the high crime and misdemeanour of not attending the services of the reformed religion. It may be of interest to put on record the names of these gentlemen who, in company with the Erdeswicks, proved their fidelity to the religion of their fathers. They were John Gifford, Brian Fowler, Francis Gatacre, Erasmus Wolseley, William Maxfield, and "Sampson Erdeswick and his son" (*sic*). It is to be noted that Sampson was not at that time married, and that the record should have read "Hugh Erdeswick and his son Sampson." The mistake was not repeated, for the names and the personality of father and son were thenceforth to be too well known to permit of their being again confounded. The Council, finding them obdurate when together and strengthened by each other's presence, proceeded to interview them apart, acting on the principle that union is strength, "united we stand, divided we fall." They hoped by

this means to discover why they so steadily refused compliance with the new law,

and they alleging their consciences and examples of their forefathers, who taught them so, and seeming to be contented to be communed with, for their better instruction, were by their lordships referred to a conference to be had with them by the Bishops of Hereford, Worcester, Coventry and Lichfield, and Rochester (Scory, Bullingham, Bentham, and Freake), and other learned men the next day, and upon their report of their towardness and conformity, their lordships would take further order.*

The report was unfavourable, but in order to gain time and to delay their committal to prison, the recusants made a show of a laudable willingness to be, if possible, "resolved" in their doubts and religious difficulties and scruples. This was a bait that always took, and as conferences and religious disputations, tiresome as they might be, were infinitely preferable to the horrors of an Elizabethan prison, it is not to be wondered at if, as was so frequently the case, Catholics who had not the faintest intention of conforming to the Act for uniformity patiently, nay, with every show of eagerness, submitted to the tedious process of having imaginary doubts "resolved" by the reformed bishops and ministers, who displayed an untiring and restless energy in the fulfilment of this fruitless labour. On August 19, therefore, the Privy Council,

thinking by grant of some more time to be conferred with, they might be brought to better conformity, called them in apart, and declared unto every of them that, considering the little conformity they had as yet showed, they should not be suffered to return home unless they would more dutifully submit themselves to obey and follow her Majesty's laws, the breach whereof in men of their calling for example sake could not be tolerated; and for that upon further conference with learned men it was hoped that the truth being declared unto them, and their reasons and scruples which moved them being answered and removed, they then would conform themselves to her Majesty's laws as became good subjects to do, their lordships for favour thought to take this order with them Sampson Erdeswick licensed to go home to fetch his books and notes and on Thursday next to repair to the Bishop of Worcester, and further was enjoined to declare the same order to his father, who should not depart but tarry with the said bishop.†

On the following day, Hugh Erdeswick was brought before

* Acts of the Privy Council, 1575-77, p. 15.

† *Ibid.* p. 17.

the Council, when the orders given previously to his son were likewise imparted to him. A matter affecting the old gentleman, of a somewhat different nature, was then inquired into; for a certain Sampson Whatwoode had lodged a complaint charging Hugh Erdeswick with having assaulted him, and the result was that both Erdeswick and his son, with their respective servants, were bound over to keep the peace.* As will be seen later, Hugh Erdeswick did not always escape so easily, when he allowed his indignation to get the better of his judgment.

It is evident that the two Erdeswicks did not profit to the extent desired or anticipated from the arguments that seemed conclusive to the "painful" Bishop of Worcester, and therefore that disappointed functionary bound over his refractory catechumens to appear once more before the Council. This they duly did at Windsor on November 10, 1575, "and were commanded to attend their lordships' further pleasure upon Sunday following."† Remaining still obstinate, they were committed on November 23, for "some further conference," to the bishop-elect of Norwich‡ and Mr. Dr. Busshe for the purpose of undergoing further religious discussions. The result was, as might have been expected, that they were as far from being "resolved" as ever; and the Council, tired of persuasion and soft measures, despatched letters on December 7 to the knight-marshal instructing him to keep Sampson a close prisoner till further orders, and like directions were issued to the keeper of the Gatehouse in Westminster, to whose custody Hugh Erdeswick was then committed.§

In the following February, by direction of the Council, Hugh was to be held in readiness to be taken before the Earl of Essex for examination.|| What transpired on that occasion, or even if the examination ever took place, does not appear to be recorded, but in the April following, by an Order in Council dated the 19th of that month (1576), the keeper of the Gatehouse was directed to release Hugh Erdeswick, having first taken his recognizances to yield himself prisoner again by the

* Acts of the Privy Council, 1575-77, p. 20.

† *Ibid.* p. 44.

‡ Edmund Freake, Bishop of Rochester, elected to Norwich on July 31, 1575, and had the royal assent on November 4, 1575. (Le Neve, "Fasti," ii. 470.)

§ Acts of the Privy Council, 1575-77, p. 58.

|| *Ibid.* p. 83.

first day of Trinity Term, unless he had meanwhile seen his way to conform. Sampson was the recipient of a like favour on similar terms.* The whole question of the status of prisoners in Tudor times has yet to be elucidated; the terrible restraint imposed upon some contrasts painfully with the extraordinary looseness of the supervision exercised over others. Moreover, our notions of incarceration square but indifferently with the apparent ease with which so many prisoners in those days seemed free to go in and out almost at their pleasure. Liberty is sweet, and the Erdeswicks, once out, had no fancy to see the inside of their respective prisons sooner than they could help; neither were they any nearer being "resolved"; so they soon found that pressing business needed their personal attention, and accordingly, in the June following, when the term of their enlargement came to an end, the minutes of Council, after reciting that *all* the Staffordshire recusants had been bailed out of prison for a few months, proceed to record the reception of petitions from them:

That they have yet continuing causes in controversy, and other affairs that much importeth, and that also they desire respite of some longer time to be persuaded in causes of religion.†

The Council, as a matter of policy, found it convenient to accede to their request: it cannot be imagined that they were taken in by such oft-repeated and rarely realised suggestions of an approach to conformity. They were determined, however, that the evil, even if it were not immediately stamped out, should not spread, so they coupled their grant of an extension of the time of enlargement till the commencement of Michaelmas Term, with certain very stringent conditions duly specified. These must have been onerous in the extreme to those upon whom they were thus imposed. Within five days after their return home, and after that once every month during the time of their temporary freedom, they had to present themselves before the bishop of the diocese for the purpose of conferring with him, or any one he should be pleased to appoint in his stead, with a view to being "resolved" in those points they still stood in doubt of. They were to confer with no one

* Acts of the Privy Council, 1575-77, p. 105.

† *Ibid.* p. 145, June 19, 1576.

else on religious topics or argue against the religion established, nor were they by writing or any other act to induce others to forsake the said religion.

A still more irksome condition was that which prohibited, in terms allowing of great and dangerous latitude of interpretation, "any *unnecessary* repair of people to their houses," particularly such as were noted Papists and recusants to come to church. Neither were they to travel about or hold meetings with noted Papists, but were to confine themselves within the limits of their own demesnes, unless when attending strictly to the private affairs which were said to need their attention, for which purpose alone they had been granted temporary liberty.

To ensure the observance of these conditions, they had each to enter into their own recognizances in the heavy sum of £400, that they would comply with them, and deliver themselves up prisoners again where they had been previously confined, by the first day of Michaelmas Term, "in case in the meantime they shall not procure good testimony from the bishop, of their conformity and amendment in religion." Their bishop was also notified of their delivery and of the terms on which it had been granted, and he was not only required to use his best endeavours to reduce them to order, but also "to have an eye . . . to see how they behave themselves according to the orders," &c. In plain English, he was appointed the Government's detective, and the Erdeswicks were no better than convicts on "ticket-of-leave," under all the restrictions belonging to the system as in vogue to-day. They were, however, at the additional disadvantage of having to put up with periodical "conferences," and had to eschew all social intercourse with their Catholic neighbours under pain of a ruinous forfeit.

When September came, and they were as far off as ever from complying with the wishes of the Council in matters of religion, they found themselves once more within the walls of their prisons. But Hugh was not so young as he had been, and the hardships he might possibly have faced with a fairly light heart at thirty years of age were no laughing matter now that he was past sixty; a second winter in prison began to tell on the old man's health. Accordingly, early in 1577, he petitioned the Lords of the Privy Council for his release on the plea of

sickness, whereupon his keeper was ordered to repair with him to the Dean of Westminster or some of the prebends there, "to prove by persuasion whether he may be induced to conform himself only in going to the church, without any further constraint of his conscience"; and they would be guided by the result.* This concession, or rather *recession*, is very important, and shows how anxious the Government was to secure conformity even if only outward. Thus William Chaderton, Bishop of Chester, writing to Sir Francis Walsingham, under date of October 4, 1580, says:

Many are daily reformed, and some of good countenance, only this I thought good to certify to your honour, that almost all *those who are conformed*, but especially the gentlemen, *will not yield to communicate*; we bear with their weakness, or rather with their hardness for this time, and only bind them to come to service and sermons, &c.; desiring to understand the Lords of the Council's pleasure, how their lordships would advise us to deal with them, if in reasonable time we shall not be able to win them.†

To show that Chaderton's experience was not an isolated one, let it suffice to quote Thomas Cowper, Bishop of Lincoln, who, writing to Walsingham just five weeks later than his brother of Chester (Nov. 14, 1580), intimates that it was the policy of the Council to consider it inconvenient "to strain such persons as have offended unto the communion," but he finds himself unable to agree to such compromises, "especially if there be appointed some reasonable time of instruction."‡

But the Erdeswicks were not the men to admit of such temporising with their consciences. Hugh would have none of it; if he gave in that far, the inch might just as well become an ell. He preferred his prison with ease of conscience to home without it.

Unwell, then, as he was, he continued in the Gatehouse for another three months, but once again after that interval, either himself or through others, made humble suit for liberty. The Council sent letters, dated May 24, 1577, to the keeper of the Gatehouse with orders to release him, under recognizance in the sum of £400, as in the previous year, to return himself

* Acts of the Privy Council, 1575-77, p. 295, February 22, 1577.

† P.R.O.: Dom. Eliz., cxliii. 7.

‡ *Ibid.* cxliv. 26.

prisoner by the first day of Michaelmas Term next ensuing, unless he had in the meantime satisfied their wishes, and in proof procured a testimonial from his bishop "for his conformity and amendment in matters of religion, so as thereupon order may be taken for his further enlargement." *

He was thus a free man once more for four months. Whether he managed to extend indefinitely the respite he had thus obtained, or whether he had to surrender himself again in the autumn of 1577, seems impossible to determine with any certainty, and his name drops out of the proceedings of the Privy Council for a few years. On Nov. 10, 1577, however, Bishop Bentham, acting under instructions, and, like his episcopal brethren, by no means averse from the work imposed upon him, sent up to the Council "the names of all such persons, gentlemen and others, within the county of Staffordshire, which come not to the church to hear divine service." The covering letter is a highly curious and instructive document. It is remarkable that throughout England the under-sheriffs, and, indeed, the gentry in general, were for the most part on friendly terms with their recusant neighbours, and in most cases, even though they were themselves conformers, were no favourers of the persecuting spirit which manifested itself in some quarters. It thus came about that those who held public offices of trust, although they might scrupulously comply with the letter of their instructions for the return of the names and valuations of the recusants within the limits of their charge, yet not infrequently they hardly fulfilled their spirit, and either frankly expressed inability to procure the required information, or else made returns so bald and jejune as to give very little encouragement and less aid to the authorities at headquarters. The proof of this is ready to hand in the State records: Bishop Bentham was determined that in his diocese, at least, the efforts of the Council should not be abortive, so he supplemented the returns of the under-sheriffs of Staffordshire by private information of his own:

I have herewith returned an answer unto your honours' letters with that speed and diligence that in such shortness of time I could. Wherein, according to your honours' appointment, I have had and used the

* Acts of the Privy Council, 1575-77, p. 348.

opinion and judgment of Mr. Trentham and Mr. Bagott for the state of Staffordshire, which I find to be so small in mine opinion, that where they give any, I set it down rather secretly than in sight, being bold to signify unto your honours mine own opinion and judgment of them in open view, which I take to be rather too little than too much, considering their states and doings, which I have known above these sixteen years, so that it is in your honours' wisdom better to consider of the same, &c.*

He then proceeds to certify amongst, of course, many others, "Sandon Parish—Hugh Erdeswick, Esq. This gentleman is valued by the gentlemen above named to be worth in lands, £40; but I judge him well worth, in lands and goods, by year £200."†

Hugh (mistakenly inscribed as Henry) and Sampson Erdeswick figure in another return, whose date is conjecturally fixed at the December of 1577, of "lances and light horse to be levied on them, that be certified by the Bishops to be refusers to come to the Church." It is not a certain clue, of course, but it strengthens the presumption that they were then at large, since they are not described as being "presently in the Marshalsea or the Gatehouse."‡ At that same period Sampson Erdeswick was brought under the notice of the Council from another quarter. Edward Flowerdewe and George Bromley made a "Certificate of Recusants in the Inner Temple," dated Nov. 1577, and "Sampson Erdeswick, of the county of Staffordshire," occurs bracketed with several others, with the following note appended: "These continue not amongst us, but whiles they continued were much noted, and yet are, to our knowledge, vehemently to be suspected; their 'havyor' and state of living we know not."§ Considering this plain statement, it seems more than curious that Erdeswick's name should not appear in the list of members of that ancient and honourable corporation, which was published by the Benchers a few years ago. The "state of living" of the recusants was a subject of infinite solicitude to the Government, for therein lay potentialities of revenue not lightly to be forborne, and "in respect that the commonwealth receiveth no benefit or service of them as of the rest of her Majesty's subjects that live in obedience,"|| proceeded with great consideration for the

* P.R.O. : Dom. Eliz., cxviii. 17.

† *Ibid.* cxix. 26.

§ *Ibid.* cxviii. 69.

‡ *Ibid.* 17. I.

|| *Ibid.* clxxxvi. 81-83.

due adjustment of the burthens incident to empire, to impose on those whom it had first excluded from offices of trust, taxes not exacted from other subjects of the realm.

Bishop Bentham, as an active and willing official of the Crown, wrote to the Lords of the Privy Council, early in 1578, to the effect that since his last return, made the previous November, he had had time to revise his former estimate, and therefore forwarded "a later and perfecter certificate of the recusants in his diocese with their valuations" (*endorsement*), and considered it

in effect renewed and augmented so much as I can learn, either by myself or such as I have put good confidence in. And I perceive the case to be of great difficulty for that I can find few trusty to deal with, and fewer willing to utter what they know.*

The episcopal inquisition did not find, it thus appears, ready or sympathetic help. From this amended report we gather that Hugh Erdeswick was estimated as "worth in lands 200 marks and in goods £300." These valuations vary considerably when compared one with another; thus in 1580 a return of recusants in all the dioceses of the Province of Canterbury was prepared, and Hugh Erdeswick figures as worth in lands 200 marks and in goods £400. In the same return, Sampson was entered as having lands of his own worth £200, but for some reason or other the entry was erased. Whatever the real truth may be as to the figures, it is certain that the Erdeswick family was possessed of considerable wealth, for in the Staffordshire Feet of Fines † there are very many entries showing that Hugh or Sampson were parties to land-purchase transactions which in modern money would represent the acquisition by them of several thousand pounds' worth of landed property. A very few years later than the date now engaging our attention, Lord Burghley noted down in his "memorials" of items of public business, "the names of some special persons of value." There were twenty-two names on this special black list, selected from all parts of England, nearly every one of which was that of a *well-known* Catholic. Sampson Erdeswick was one of these marked men.‡

* P.R.O. : Dom. Eliz., cxxii. 28 and 28. I. February 1, 1577-78.

† William Salt Society, "Collections for Staffordshire," *passim*.

‡ P.R.O. : Dom. Eliz., cxcviii. 18, Feb. 7, 1586-87. It may prove of interest

The Privy Council, sitting in the Star Chamber on April 19, 1581, directed letters to be sent to "Sir Walter Aston, Kt., the Dean of Lichfield, and Mr. Richard Bagot, Esq.," reciting that Richard Ferroure, one of the messengers of her Majesty's Chamber, had been sent by warrant of the Bishop of London and others of the Ecclesiastical High Commission, to arrest "certain obstinate recusants" in Staffordshire.

When he came to Sandon, however, in the execution of his commission, he was "very violently used" by Hugh Erdeswick, who spoke some strong language about both the warrant and those from whom it emanated; "unreverently reviled in terms," is the quaint description in the original :

Their lordships having care that the impunity of so lewd and contemptuous demeanours in any service of her Majesty may not draw others of her subjects to follow the like, thought good to call before them as well the said Erdeswick as all others (concerned) and bind them over to appear before the Council, there to be dealt with as should be needful.*

What penalty Erdeswick underwent is not recorded, but whatever it may have been, it did not prove sufficient to check the impetuosity of his temper, for a year later he perpetrated a similar but ranker offence, for it was on no less a personage than a justice of the peace.

It seems that on May 15, 1582, Bishop Overton, together with several justices, went to Sandon for the purpose of inspecting a bridge there which needed repairs, and while they were discussing the matter, some dispute arose between Erdeswick and one of the justices named John Chetwynd, which ended somewhat abruptly in Erdeswick's striking Chetwynd in the presence of all assembled. Though Hugh denied the assault, the Council were inclined to believe it had been committed, and were of opinion that such insolence should receive a very severe punishment; and sent down injunctions for an

to give the entire list here:—Lord Vaux (of Harrowden); Sir Thomas Tresham; Sir William Catesby; Sir John Arundell (of Lanberne); William Tyrhwytt; (John) Thimbleby; John Talbot; Sir Thomas Fitzherbert; Sir John Southworth; George Cotton (of Warblington, Hants); Philip Draycott; Sampson Erdeswick; John Scudamore (of Kenchurch, Herefordshire); Robert Rookwood; Robert Downs; Philip Percy; Robert Gage; Edward Gage; — Hare (this might be Thomas, Edmund, or Nicholas); Thomas Vachell; Gilbert Wells; Nicholas Langford.

* Acts of the Privy Council, 1581-82, pp. 30-31.

exhaustive inquiry into the whole matter to be conducted on the spot, and that the depositions were to be taken on oath.* This audacious act is evidently the one referred to in Bishop Overton's letter to the Council, dated May 20, 1582, published by Strype† and mentioned in the "Dictionary of National Biography." The letter is very lengthy, but equally interesting. It is not needful, however, to transcribe here any more than that small portion of it connected with Erdeswick :

One Hugh Erdeswick, lord of (the manor of Sandon) and the sorest and dangerousest papist, one of them in all England: who otherwise cometh neither to the church nor churchyard, but keepeth himself and his family close at home from the divine service, in contempt of her Majesty's laws; yet at this time, in the churchyard, and before us that were justices, and openly in the sight of the whole country, was not afraid to strike a justice of the peace upon the pate with his crabtree staff. Whereupon immediately began a number of swords and daggers to be drawn; and had we not with diligence applied ourselves forthwith to appease the outrage, or rather, had not God blessed our business at that time, and stayed the hands and hearts of the people from further mischief, I think there had been such a bloody day as hath not been seen this great while in Staffordshire. A matter, doubtless, worthy sharp punishment and animadversion. A papist to strike a justice of peace, sitting in the Queen's service, and the affairs of his country, and in the churchyard, and before the whole multitude; it was a very bold and malicious part.

So the bishop bound him in £200 to appear at the next assizes, and wanted to know if the Council proposed to take action in the matter. The "Dictionary of National Biography" seems to mix up this event with the contemporary account of a different but similar one which is recorded in Father Morris's "Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers." These outbursts were the result of many acts of persecution which the old gentleman had most probably had to put up with for many years past. If his neighbours out of their goodwill made any effort to screen him, their kindness was very soon noticed, and peremptory orders from the Council forced them, merely out of regard for their own welfare, to carry out a policy they can hardly have approved of; they were, in fact, *obliged* to do that which they had no inclination for. For example, on December 4, 1581, a

* Acts of the Privy Council, 1581-82, p. 444.

† "Annals" (8vo), vol. iii. pt. ii. pp. 214-15.

severe letter was sent from Whitehall to the sheriff and justices of Staffordshire, stating that whereas the Council had asked for a return of all recusants,

the grand jury there, either making no account of his (the bishop's) certificate, or otherwise being altogether careless of their duty, have found the Bill of some, and put out other some at their pleasure, such as are known to be most obstinate and dangerous recusants of that county as Hugh Erdeswick, Sampson Erdeswick (and others). . . . They are to acknowledge their contempt and offence done unto her Majesty in not finding the said recusants according to the bishop's certificate, &c.*

On the very day that Hugh Erdeswick was in difficulties at Sandon, further trouble was brewing for him, for on May 15, 1582, the Council, having heard of some "misdemeanours" committed by him, sent one Nicholas Cole, a pursuivant, to arrest him, and instructed the local justices "to be aiding and assisting unto him." †

We learn, too, that "Whereas it was informed them that Sampson Erdeswick, his son, was married to one Dixwell's daughter at a Mass," so the justices with the bishop were, to inquire into the matter, and report. This entry fixes approximately the date of the antiquary's marriage to his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Humphrey Dixwell, of Churchover, county Warwick, Esq. This lady bore him five daughters: Margaret, who was born on July 20, 1582,‡ and who subsequently married Henry Francis; § Helen, who married Thomas Coyney, of Weston Coyney, county Staffordshire, Esq., the names of several of whose children and descendants figure on the margins of our *Sarum Breviary*; and three others, named Elizabeth (who predeceased her father), Margery, and Mary.

When the Council heard of what had taken place at Sandon, they wrote their minds about it on May 29,|| and on June 4, Hugh, according to the terms of his recognizance, appeared before them to answer to the charges they had against him; and found himself compelled to remain about the Court, being ordered not to depart till he should be formally dismissed. Meantime, while he was thus got out of the way, being kept

* Acts of the Privy Council, 1581-82, p. 271.

† *Ibid.* p. 425.

‡ Harl. MS. 5410.

§ Salt's "Collections for Staffordshire," vol. v. p. 348.

|| Acts of the Privy Council, 1581-82, p. 432.

in or near Greenwich, the Council took advantage of his absence from home to direct the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry and others (June 4)

forthwith to make their repair to the house of Hugh Erdeswick, and there with all diligence to make search for one Price, one called by the name of Dr. John, a Massing priest, and other suspected persons, and popish trumpery said to be within the said house, to examine the persons, and thereupon as they shall see cause, to commit them to safe custody, and to certify their lordships what they shall have found, that they may give such further direction as thereunto shall appertain. They are further required to command Sampson Erdeswick to make his appearance forthwith before their lordships according to a band by them taken of him.*

It is clearly to this event that the account given by Fr. Morris must refer :

Pursuivants searching the house of Hugh Erdeswick in his absence, he coming in the mangle finding his chests all broken open, and his evidences dispersed, one of them arrested him and called him a traitor, whereto being moved, bestowed some blows upon him, for which he was soon after deeply fined and endured long imprisonment.†

Three weeks later, on June 24, 1582, Sampson Erdeswick appeared before the Clerk of the Council and "desired to have his appearance recorded," in obedience to the terms of his recognizance, and was further ordered "to give his continual attendance": a measure calculated to much hamper a country gentleman's supervision of his estates; there was nothing for it, however, but to obey.‡ After this entry, we once more lose sight of the Erdeswicks for a period, but a very natural explanation is forthcoming; the register, or minute-book, of the Privy Council from June 1582 to February 1585-86, has been lost,§ and with it much that might have thrown light on the trials and sufferings of these representative recusants, whose firmness and fidelity to the faith from the earliest days of the Elizabethan rejection of the unity of the Church deserve a prominent place in the annals of English Catholicity.

When next they are heard of, it is practically a repetition of the previous records.

* Acts of the Privy Council, 1581-82, p. 437.

† Morris, "Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers," series iii. p. 17.

‡ Acts of the Privy Council, 1581-82, p. 451.

§ *Ibid.* 1586-87, preface.

Thus, in "a list of names, &c., of whom bonds had been taken for many causes, principally for religion," drawn up at the end of 1587, occur "Sampson Erdeswick, bound in £500 to be forthcoming within one day's warning, given at his house in Herne's Rents in Holborn—taken July 9, 1585"; and "Hugh Erdeswick, bound in £100 to return himself prisoner into the Gatehouse within a certain space, except he conform himself in religion—taken June 21, 1585."* This latter entry has a pathetic interest of its own, for it indicates that during those intervening years of which we unfortunately know nothing, the septuagenarian had again been a valiant confessor for the faith, for it is worthy of observation that "religion" is the only motive assigned for his imprisonment. To this year, too, may be ascribed the summons father and son received, dated July 12, to appear before the Privy Council, and a record of which is preserved in Harl. MS. 360, f. 2; and at f. 51 b. of the same MS. occurs the name of "one Sampson, gent.," as a prisoner in the Gatehouse at Westminster. Is it too much to identify under this uncertain description the younger Erdeswick?

In common with their fellow-Catholics, the Erdeswicks were returned on several occasions as willing, able, or liable to furnish a light horse or lance for the defence of the kingdom—a special tax imposed on Papists "refusing to come to the church," as in October 1585.† The endorsement of this particular return shows that the marginal sums set against the various names are the amount of a "loan," at which the individual recusants were respectively assessed. In all, that particular loan was calculated to produce the sum total of £7123.

Edward Leigh, Esq., the Sheriff of Staffordshire, informed the Council on October 21, 1585, that "Mr. Fowler and both the Erdeswicks are at London, but I understand by their servants they will be willing to serve, and therefore have willed them to write to their masters to be in a readiness against or before the appointed day."‡

The very next month Hugh is again returned as willing to

* P.R.O., Dom. Eliz., ccv. 13.

† *Ibid.* clxxxiii. 15.

‡ *Ibid.* 34.

contribute £25 as his share towards the keep of one light horse.*

Just two years later, both Hugh and Sampson are mentioned as furnishing between them one lance and one light horse.†

Notwithstanding the readiness recusants always and everywhere displayed to comply with the burthens thus thrust upon them, they were themselves disarmed as a precautionary measure against any possible attempt on their part to repeat the Rising of 1569. In a letter dated October 19, 1586, written to the Earl of Shrewsbury by Sir Walter Aston and Richard Bagot, Esq., they mention that "the Papists are disarmed according to the Council's letters,‡ which fixes the date when this humiliation was inflicted upon loyal and honourable men like the Erdeswicks. This final insult was not, however, offered to so many of the noblest of the land until they and their estates had been got most completely into the power of the Government. The ruse—it can be called nothing else—is fully explained in the following letter issued by the Council to the Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace in the several shires, under date of February 26, 1585-86:

After our hearty commendations. The Queen's Majesty upon report made unto her by us of her Privy Council, of the ready and willing disposition of the principal recusants of that county, in yielding to the charge lately laid on them for the providing and furnishing of certain light horses appointed to be levied for her Highness' present service in the Low Countries, of her gracious and clement nature and affection towards her subjects being now pleased (according to the promise made by our former letters in her Majesty's name that some ease and alleviation of the penalty by the laws inflicted upon them for their disobedience should be granted in case they did willingly assent to the performing of the service required) to extend her favour in some reasonable degree towards them, with regard nevertheless to the quality of their offence as a matter of dangerous example, wherein her Majesty most earnestly wisheth their reformation to the comfort of their souls and her due satisfaction. And as her Majesty for her part can be contented to ease them of the common danger of the law, the daily vexation of informers, and the ordinary circumstances and inconveniences growing thereby unto them: so doth she expect that they on their parts according to a

* P.R.O.: Dom. Eliz., clxxxiv. 61.

† P.R.O.: Dom. Eliz. ccv. 56. The same tax is again recorded in Harl. MS. 1985, f. 212.

‡ P.R.O.: Dom. Eliz., exciv. 52.

just estimate of their livings and revenues, and in respect that the commonweal receiveth no benefit or service of them as of the rest of her Majesty's subjects that live in obedience, shall make offer of a reasonable portion thereof to be yearly paid and delivered into her Majesty's receipt, and employed to such good uses as to her Majesty shall be thought convenient. These shall be therefore to require and authorise you to call them severally before you and to acquaint them with the contents of these our letters, by virtue whereof you shall advise them to consider of this her Majesty's gracious favour tendered unto them, and require them to make, offer, and set down, every man according to his particular value, what yearly sum he can be contented of his own disposition to allow as aforesaid, to be discharged of the peril and penalty of the law whereunto they now stand subject and liable by reason of their obstinate recusancy. But to the end you may be informed of her Majesty's purpose herein; you shall understand that she doth hold them graciously and favourably dealt withal whose values in living amounting to above £240 by the year, if she accept the one-half of the penalty and acquit them of the other, and of the trouble and vexation incident to the ordinary course of proceeding held by law against them: and of such as are valued under £240 to . . . (*from No. 82*), and shall have yearly living between £150 and the said sum of £250 (*sic*), if she take the third part of their valuation or revenue, &c. &c.*

On the following April 18, 1586, Sir Walter Aston and Richard Bagot, Esq., wrote to the Council from Stafford, informing them of what they had done according to the tenour of the above instructions, by way of inducing the recusants of their county to promise a yearly payment with a view to avoid the penalties of recusancy, &c., but they "do verily think that the most of their offers is as much (their estates considered) as their abilities will well stretch unto. And as touching . . . Sampson Erdeswick (*and others*) we have called for them at their dwelling-houses within this county, from whence we understand that they be in or about London *at your lordships' pleasures*."† Those last words were surely ominous of further trouble, notwithstanding that they had but just compounded with the Government for the very purpose of being "discharged of the peril and penalty of the law" against recusancy.

About this time may be placed the death of Hugh Erdes-

* "P.R.O. : Dom. Eliz., clxxxvi. 81, 82. N.B. No. 83 is a precisely similar missive to the Justices of Bedfordshire, signed by "W. Burghley, C. Howard, W. Cobham, T. Buckhurst, F. Knollys, James Croft, Chr. Hatton."

† P.R.O. : Dom. Eliz., clxxxviii. 29.

wick, for no further mention of the staunch old man occurs in official papers. He had gone to receive the reward of his long and valiant confession.

In the following year, when the news from Spain was causing considerable uneasiness to Elizabeth and her Ministers, that astute and cautious old statesman, Burghley, thought well to run over his lists of recusants, and on February 7, 1587, amongst his "memorials of public business," appears a sub-heading of "the recusants in counties to be restrained," and, of course, in Staffordshire Sampson Erdeswick was of the number.* On February 10 the same urgent business engaged his further attention, and amongst "matters of consultation most necessary to be resolved and executed," the following find a not inconsiderable place: "For restraint of recusants that are of most value in livelihood and tenants. Some may be committed as close prisoners" (to various places); and then follows the list of twenty-two "special persons of value," including Sampson Erdeswick, which has already been quoted.

With all these extraordinary precautions, however, the results were not such as to satisfy the vigilance or allay the fears of the Council. Staffordshire must have given serious cause for uneasiness to the Queen's Ministers, and so convinced were they that the local authorities were much to blame, and were generally slack in their persecution of the influential recusants of that county, that it was resolved to bring them to a sense of their duty by a very sharp rebuke. Accordingly, on January 30, 1588, a letter was sent by the Earl of Shrewsbury (as it is conjectured) to either the Commissioners for Recusants, or more probably the Under-Sheriffs and Justices of Staffordshire, in the following severe terms:

After my right hearty commendations. Upon the receipt of your last letters and certificate concerning the recusants within the county of Stafford, I could not be resolved whether the affection you bear to her Majesty's service or the favour you show to those bad members of her state and commonwealth should be the greater; neither can your doings prove clear from suspicion of indifference herein unless you accuse yourselves of negligence in execution of those special affairs wherewith you have been charged. For, expecting perfect notice from you of those persons which are of value, obstinate and not so obstinate, answerable to

* P.R.O. : Dom. Eliz. cxcviii. 18.

the contents of my former letters, I find the trust reposed in you so corrupted as, if mine own knowledge could not reveal more worthy apprehension than your barren certificate hath brought forth, her Majesty's commandment might return frustrate. If I bewray your slender care now extant to the Lords of the Privy Council, my doings were but just, yet hardly could you avoid the danger of this dalliance—it can be accounted no better when through silence wise men do wilfully incur the suspicion of other men's faults when authority commandeth them to make the same manifest, thinking belike with smoke to clear mine eyesight or with straw to repress the flame, which cannot be had. Consider, then, a little better for whom your service is employed, for what respect you are called to it, and by whom you are directed. Be more willing henceforth to make amends, otherwise I must discharge my duty, and will not fail to charge you with forgetfulness of yours towards her Majesty. Commanding you hereby jointly and severally in her Highness' name to apprehend all and every of those recusants hereafter named, and commit them forthwith together with these several warrants here inclosed to such persons as the same are directed. And forasmuch as few or none of account, but of the most ignorant and base people, are expressly nominated in your certificate, without either notice of quality, addition, or the hundred where they dwell, I am further to command and charge you to commit so many of the best sort of them to her Majesty's gaol for the county as you know or can enquire to be most obstinate, certifying me of your proceedings herein, and of the names of those you and every of you shall so commit, before the 20th of February next coming, as you will avoid the contrary at your perils. Sheffield, the 30th of January.*

The activity that a missive in such sternly severe terms would engender would most certainly have brought much annoyance to "many of the best sort amongst them" the recusants, including, of course, Sampson Erdeswick; but, unfortunately, the list of "those recusants, hereafter named," has not come down to us with the covering letter: we can therefore only conjecture, and thereafter very little more is heard of the Erdeswicks. In 1592, a very lengthy and exhaustive list of recusants in Warwickshire was prepared and sent to the Council by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for that county. In Churchover parish (whence, it may be remembered, Sampson had married his wife),

information was given by Christopher Wright, Esq., of one Woorley, sometime servant to one Sampson Erdeswick, of Staffordshire, Esq., who was suspected to be a lewd and seditious papist. He wanders

* P.R.O. : Dom. Eliz., ccviii. 37.

about under colour of tricking out arms in churches, and resorts to houses of gentlemen known to be ill affected in religion, in this and neighbouring shires. Suspected of being a carrier of letters between papists.*

This "Woorley" is, of course, none other than the "William Wyrley, a youth whom Erdeswick had brought up and employed as amanuensis," and for whom is claimed the authorship of certain works usually ascribed to Sampson Erdeswick,† especially on armoury.

Some time before this, Sampson had lost his wife, and on April 24, 1593, he married Mary, daughter to Francis Neale, Esq., and widow of Everard Digby (by whom she was the mother of the Everard Digby executed a few years later for his share in the Gunpowder Plot). She bore to Sampson his eldest son and heir Richard, in 1594; a second son Matthew, and a daughter Jane.

It is remarkable that in all the troubles Hugh and Sampson Erdeswick underwent there was never any question of either father or son having in any way mixed themselves up with politics; and when the Spanish Armada had been defeated by the united efforts and valour of Catholics and Protestants, the Government seem to have concentrated their attention almost entirely upon such recusants as they had reason to consider influenced by other than purely religious scruples. As Sampson clearly did not come within this category, he was thenceforth, apparently, left unmolested; and having been driven out of the practice of the law, he turned the acumen he had acquired in his legal studies into different channels, which has borne lasting fruit. As we know from himself, he employed the last ten years of his life in making his invaluable collections for a "Survey of Staffordshire," and in kindred antiquarian pursuits.

Both Mr. Gillow, and Mr. Godwin, in the "Dictionary of National Biography," following Anthony à Wood and Fuller, state that the date of Sampson's death was April 11, 1603, but this is manifestly incorrect, for his will is dated May 15 of the same year. It appears from Cole's "Escheats,"‡ that

* P.R.O. : Dom. Eliz., cexliiii. 76.

† Cf. Gillow's "Dict. of Cath. Biog.," and "Dict. of Nat. Biog."

‡ Harl. MS. 760, f. 362.

there was an Inquisition post mortem taken at Warwick, October 3, 1 Jas. I., after Sampson Erdeswick's death, when it was found that he died on the previous June 28, and that Richard, aged nine, was his son and heir. This inquest had reference to lands in Churchover parish, county Warwick, which he had acquired through his first wife.*

The religious disabilities under which the Erdeswick family had hitherto laboured did not altogether cease with Sampson's death: his son Richard had to suffer his share, though in a much mitigated form. In March 1627, a protection was granted to him and his sureties for one year, the better to enable him to pay his debts,† and on April 8, 1629, Attorney-General Heath wrote to Secretary Dorchester his opinion that a Mr. Handcorne's suit was just and reasonable, for Mr. Erdeswick was indebted to his Majesty, and no protection privileged him against the King himself. His withdrawal from the kingdom (evidently contemplated) might be prevented by a *Ne exeat regno*.‡ As we have seen, Richard was a minor at the time of his father's death, and for some unexplained cause he did not sue out his *ousterlemain*—the release of his property from the Court of Wards—till the year 6 Chas. I., some fourteen years after he had come of age, probably on account of undischarged debts due to the Crown for his recusancy.§

A grant of the benefit of the recusancy of Walter Erdeswick, a cousin of the antiquary, was made in favour of Charles Chambers on March 21, 1608.|| Walter had a brother John, whose widow, Mary, occurs in a list of sequestered persons for Staffordshire, as a Papist living at Wolstanton in March 1648.¶ She died some time shortly before July 17, 1655.**

Before closing the pages of our *Sarum Breviary*, there is one name on its margins which may prove of more than passing interest. It is that of Mary Coyney, who was the

* Salt's "Collections for Staffordshire," vol. v. p. 348.

† P.R.O. : Dom. Chas. I., lviii. 86 (Docquet).

‡ *Ibid.* cxi. 33.

§ Salt's "Collections for Staffordshire," vol. v. p. 124.

|| P.R.O. : Dom. Jas. I., xxxi. 82 (Docquet).

¶ *Ibid.* : Dom. "Calendar of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding—General Proceedings," p. 89.

** *Ibid.* p. 3240.

great-granddaughter of Sampson Erdeswick, being one of the numerous family of Sampson Coyney, who was son to Thomas Coyney of Weston Coyney, county Stafford, Esq., and Helen, daughter of the antiquary. Mary Coyney entered Louvain Convent, and was professed on August 15, 1667, and died on February 15, 1672, aged twenty-four years. Her obituary notice states that she had been many years brought up in Paris, and entered at Louvain as a postulant on October 6, 1664.* The community suffered the greatest loss in her death, as she was of "an innocent and orderly life, and had the best and strongest voice in the choir." There was a Sister Mary Austin Coyney professed in the same convent as late as May 18, 1769; and a Miss Katherine Coyney was a pensioner of the Blue Nuns in 1786, but she afterwards married.

With this reference, our use for the Sarum Manuscript Breviary comes to an end: if it has done nothing else, it has served to recall the memory of brave men who bravely endured much for the faith they loved and valued, that faith which by their unyielding, unbending spirit they helped to keep alive through dark days and bitter persecution till such time as their posterity should secure for themselves those rights of conscience and freedom of worship which they in their time had been denied.

HENRY NORBERT BIRT, O.S.B.

* Amongst the many thousand books, formerly belonging to religious establishments, which now constitute the bulk of the "Bibliothèque Publique" at Douai, is an early fifteenth-century MS. "Augustinus de Diligendo Deo." Within the cover is given 'Mary Coyney hir book,' showing clearly how it got to Douai in the first instance. It had also been in the possession of Thomas Digby 'Sandon,' another link with the subject of this paper.

ART. IV.—THE CHURCH AND THE UNIVERSITIES: OXFORD.

1. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.* By HASTINGS RASHDALL, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
2. *Munimenta Academica.* Documents Illustrative of Academic Life and Studies at Oxford. 2 vols. Edited by Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A. Rolls Series.
3. *The Idea of a University.* By JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN. *Rise and Progress of Universities.* By the same. London: Pickering.

WHAT the mediæval University really was, and how it arose, we have already seen in a previous article in this REVIEW. Shorn of the fictions that had been sedulously massed around it, it is now clear that the University system, far from being explained by the action of one man, or the movement of one day, was rather the outcome of fortuitous conditions according to the character of the age in which it emerged—the realisation of an idea not transmitted from ancient schools, a gradual growth within the Church from, and according to, the needs of the time. In the revival of learning which followed upon the settlement of Christian Europe after the barbarian hosts had ceased from troubling, and with the opening up of fresh fields of knowledge effected by the East being brought into contact with the West through the agency of the Crusades, schools were rapidly multiplied, and some sprang into such fame as to attract scholars from all parts. Herein we trace the rise of the *studium generale*, a place where scholars gathered together from various districts and countries to receive instruction in higher studies. These alien masters and students, forming a class apart from the privileged townspeople among whom they lived, and in accordance with the movement towards association then prevalent, naturally formed themselves into guilds for their mutual

assistance and protection from external oppression. It was the union of the two ideas contained in the *studium generale* and the guild that formed the foundation and the active principle from which the University system developed. Bologna grew out of a guild of students, Paris out of an association of masters; and each may be said to have won its way to autonomy and privilege by long and even fierce struggles against local ecclesiastical jealousy and municipal greed, under royal, and more especially, under papal, protection.

The Universities of Bologna and Paris were the two great archetypal organisations which were copied in countless others, and our study of them will help us to an easier understanding of the origin and somewhat peculiar constitution of our English Universities. It would take us somewhat beyond the limits of this article to deal as fully as we should wish with the history of Oxford and Cambridge. Nor is it necessary that we should do so; for the story of Oxford is, in the main, the story also of Cambridge, whilst Oxford alone achieved European repute during the mediæval period with which we are concerned. Indeed, Father Deniflé treats them as belonging to different groups of Universities, placing Oxford among "the primæval Universities, which were not founded but grew," whilst Cambridge is perhaps somewhat arbitrarily regarded as largely due to a Bull of Pope John XXII. For these reasons we may be pardoned if we here deal solely, and with some attention to detail, with the University of Oxford.

I.

The investigation which issued in the conclusion that the Students' University of Bologna and the Masters' University of Paris were a slow development from the cathedral schools of their respective cities necessitated a ruthless demolition of venerable fictions attributing their origin to illustrious founders. A similar result is the only outcome of any careful survey of the debateable ground of the origins of the University of Oxford. Oxford scholars have not been behind others in their patriotism, and have invented an ancient and splendid lineage for their *Alma Mater*, which, however gratifying and dazzling to heart and eye, cannot stand the searching solvents of impartial

criticism. Thus the fables that variously attributed its foundation to Memprick, a thousand years before the Christian era—to Brute the Trojan—to King Alfred the Great, on the authority of a spurious passage impudently interpolated by Camden in 1603 in his edition of the *Annals of Asser*—as well as the stories in regard to St. John of Beverley and St. Neot, are, as Mr. Anstey long ago declared, rather comparable with those of Jack the Giant Killer, and King Arthur and the Round Table than to be received as the serious teaching of history. Those who are curious to see what can be dared in the way of inventiveness as to the ancient origin of the University of Oxford can find it for themselves in the pages of Bryan Twyne and Antony Wood. We are here dealing with historical fact, and from the silence of early chronicles we are bound to recognise that such fables are the concoctions of a college party, and to agree with Mr. Anstey that no candid inquirer can come to any other verdict than that the statements which attribute the University or even a college at Oxford to King Alfred are “absolutely without a shadow of *proof*.* In this respect the history of the University has been subject to the general laws of all history. It is a miniature of the history of the nation, which begins in a myth and passes through a heroic age before it reaches the really historical period, when a practical certainty arises that Oxford must be “content to accept its academic position as an accident of its commercial importance.”† This leaves us no other course than with Mr. Rashdall to abandon the legends in question to students of comparative mythology and of the pathology of the human mind.‡

Turning, then, to historical facts, we may regard it as fairly established that the town settlement at Oxford was posterior to the Roman period, and that a community of nuns ascribing their origin to St. Frideswyde entered into residence there about the year 721. The first actual mention of the city goes no further back than 912, when the place was taken by Edward the Elder, and afterwards became one of the most important of the West Saxon towns. Conveniently situated on the great

* “*Munimenta Academica*,” Introduction, p. xxx.

† Rashdall, vol. ii. p. 326.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 323.

waterway of the Thames on the border line of Wessex and Mercia, and within easy reach of London, it was frequently during the eleventh century a meeting-place for the national Gemots and ecclesiastical synods. To its facility of access and its central position for the midlands must be attributed its rise to commercial importance after the fury of the Danish invasions had been broken; and the same reasons also, coupled with its cheap living, are perhaps the most satisfactory explanation of the town's rise to academic fame. For, it must be remembered, Oxford was not then like Paris a bishop's See; it had no ecclesiastical building of overshadowing importance with which the schools, out of which the University afterwards arose, were likely to be intimately connected. The town was, however, a royal vill, a fact which would probably afford a reasonable chance of security to those who might resort to it for purposes of study. The question is not how there came to be schools in Oxford, for it is abundantly probable that there were schools in connection with the conventual churches of St. Frideswyde's and Oseney Abbey. But these schools do not seem to have been the ones from which the University afterwards arose, which were situated in the neighbourhood of St. Mary's, the parish church. This they borrowed for their general meetings; and their masters were so far independent of any monastic or capitular body that they were allowed to choose their own head, who was afterwards accepted as his scholastic official by the Bishop of Lincoln, a point of prime importance which marks a deep distinction between Paris and Oxford, and which can only be satisfactorily accounted for by a recognition of an independent origin. What we want to know is how the schools at Oxford gained the dignity and development of a *studium generale*, for the allusions to them before the latter half of the twelfth century scarcely warrant us in regarding them as "schools in more than one faculty, taught by many masters, attended by a numerous body of scholars and scholars from different regions."* Theobaldus Stampensis, a doctor of Caen, is mentioned as becoming a master at Oxford in 1117, and in 1133 Robert Pullen, a Paris doctor of theology, also taught there. It is possible, too, that Vacarius, an

* Rashdall, vol. ii. p. 341.

eminent Lombard jurist whom Archbishop Theobald had brought over to assist him with his knowledge of Canon Law, lectured on that subject at Oxford about the year 1149, or some twenty years later. These fragmentary notices do not, however, point to more than one master at a time, and one master does not make a university any more than one swallow makes a Spring. But they do, we think, point to Oxford as a place of more academic importance at that time than Mr. Rashdall is willing to allow. However that may be, they are not sufficient to explain how the schools came to be places of resort to multitudes of scholars from far and near. The truth is, as Mr. Anstey puts it, that of the origin of the University absolutely nothing is known; and all he ventures to say upon the matter is that there were certainly, as we have already seen, schools in Oxford before the thirteenth century which were probably connected with the University of Paris.

Mr. Rashdall is a bolder spirit and better equipped with a broad and at the same time a particular knowledge of University history, and he has broached a theory as to the origin of Oxford which, as alone explaining the facts and as being in accordance with all known analogies, is entitled to at least "a provisional acceptance." It is also the first attempt to propound a serious explanation of the rise of the University, and as such deserves consideration at our hands.

As the Oxford schools are not found to be in connection with any monastic or capitular body, or under obedience to any local ecclesiastical authority, we are compelled, by the knowledge we have of the origins of Bologna and Paris, to seek the explanation of their rise to wider fame in some such external cause as the expulsion, recall, or voluntary migration of scholars from some other town where a *studium* was already established. Curiously enough, the scanty evidence as to the number and character of the schools in Oxford shows a decided change about the year 1167. The allusions become more frequent and point to a number of masters in different faculties lecturing to numerous scholars from different regions, which indicates a vital change in the character of the schools.

To what was this change due? What was it that suddenly lifted the reputation of the Oxford schools so far above those of Lincoln, Hereford, St. Albans, and other places? The

character of the ensuing University will not allow us to believe that it grew up by purely spontaneous evolution. Could the change have been wrought by a compulsory or voluntary migration of scholars, which, as we know, explains the origin of such permanent Universities as Reggio, Vicenza, Vercelli, Padua, and possibly Cambridge? And if so, have we any evidence or at least any show of reason for supposing that such a migration of scholars did take place about the time specified?

Unfortunately, we have no absolute proof of such a migration; but the circumstantial evidence which Mr. Rashdall skilfully marshals in its favour tempts our acquiescence very strongly. From 1164 to 1170 Henry II. was engaged in his dispute with St. Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. In a letter to Peter the Writer, John of Salisbury speaks of the way in which the year 1167 had seen the fulfilment of an astrological prediction as to the depression of scholars, whom he describes as the "votaries of Mercury," in the fact that "France, the mildest and most civilised of nations, had expelled her alien scholars," the most numerous of whom were the English. We know furthermore that amongst the ordinances levelled by Henry II. against the supporters of St. Thomas at this time were the provisions that no clerics should henceforth leave England without the royal permission, and that all clerics abroad with revenues in England should return within three months. Hundreds of beneficed English clergy were then pursuing their studies in Paris, and these, under the royal threat of confiscation, would doubtless hasten home in large numbers to save their benefices, whilst many intending scholars would be prevented from leaving their own country. What became of them? Unencumbered with property, scholars in those days easily and with light hearts went from one town to another, and there is a considerable show of evidence in favour of the students from Paris having congregated, with some of their old masters and under the old discipline, in Oxford.

In the first place, Robert, Prior of St. Frideswyde's, who was cured at Becket's tomb within two years after the martyrdom, in giving an account of his previous sufferings, reminds his hearers how he used to ask for the indulgence of a chair when preaching at Oxford in presence of "clerks from all

parts of England." About the same time, too, Oxford was mentioned by Geoffrey Plantagenet, Bishop-elect of Lincoln, in significant connection with Bologna and Paris. Again, after a translation of the relics of St. Frideswyde in 1180, we hear of the cure of a scholar named Stephen who had come all the way from Yorkshire for the sake of study. In a conveyance of some land in Cattestreet, close to St. Mary's, of about the same date, there appear among the witnesses of the transaction the names of a bookbinder, three illuminators, one writer, and two parchmenters, a fact which is sufficient to show that Oxford was then a city of schools. Three or four years later Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welsh traveller and historian, visited the town and gave a three days' reading of his recently completed work—"Topographia Hibernica"—before the assembled masters and scholars. On the first day he also entertained at table "all the poor scholars of the whole town; on the second all the doctors of the different faculties and such of their pupils as were of greater fame and note; and on the third the rest of the scholars, with many knights, townfolk, and burghers."* These various items of information all tend to show the existence of what is alluded to in 1190 as the "Common Studium of letters at Oxford" to which a student from the Low Countries crossed in that year. Richard of Devizes describes the scholars two years later as almost too numerous for the town to feed. Richard I. we know maintained scholars there, and in 1197 Abbot Samson, Carlyle's hero, entertained the Oxford masters at St. Edmundsbury. Finally, the year 1209 introduces us to an academic population of no fewer than 3000, and to an event which ushers in the documentary period of the University's history.

Just as the tavern riot of 1200 in Paris had resulted in a charter of protection for the scholars from Philip Augustus, so the accidental murder of a woman at Oxford nine years later was the signal for a raid upon the offender's lodgings by the mayor and townsmen, in which several scholars were apprehended, some of whom were afterwards executed with the consent of King John, who was then in the thick of his quarrel with the Pope. This caused a dispersion of the scholars to

* "Giraldus Cambrensis," ed. Brewer, p. 72.

Reading, Paris, and Cambridge, and the practical suspension of the schools till after the King's reconciliation with the Holy See, when the citizens were compelled to submit to the judgment of the Papal Legate, who issued, in 1214, the year before Magna Charta, an ordinance which is "the first document in the nature of a charter of privilege which the University of Oxford can boast," *

It was provided by this document that the offending citizens should go in procession to the grave of their victims and remove the bodies to the cemetery for Christian burial. The rents of schools and halls were to be remitted for ten and a half years, and the town was to give forty-two shillings a year for ever on the feast of St. Nicholas to be distributed amongst poor scholars, in addition to providing a hundred with a substantial meal. It was also ordered that in future clerks arrested by the townspeople should be handed over to the Bishop of Lincoln, the Archdeacon, or the Chancellor, or whomsoever the Bishop should appoint. The scholars to be fed were to be chosen by the Abbot of Oseney and the Prior of St. Frideswyde's, or "the Chancellor whom the Bishop of Lincoln shall set over the scholars therein." This last enactment, as Mr. Rashdall points out, seems to indicate that though the *studium* was, as we have seen, in full working order at the time of the visit of Giraldus Cambrensis in 1184, no Chancellor was appointed till 1214 or after. It also, we think, points to some sort of relation between the scholars and the Abbot and Prior in question which it has not struck Mr. Rashdall to consider or elucidate. There must have been some organisation among the masters in 1209, or the dispersion could scarcely have been carried out; but its rudimentary character is strikingly illustrated by the fact that whilst copies of the legatine ordinance were addressed to the Bishop, the burghers, and all the faithful of Christ, none were sent to the masters themselves. From a Papal Bull of the year 1211 there appears to have been a "rector of the schools," but by whom appointed is by no means clear, though most probably he was elected by the masters themselves. Not only was the See of Lincoln far away, but for the greater part of this period,

* Rashdall, vol. ii. p. 349.

which began with Henry's quarrel with Becket and closed with John's struggle against the Pope, the See was vacant. This would help to give the masters a free hand at the outset in electing a head from amongst their own number to whom the Bishop afterwards delegated the necessary jurisdiction. Had the election of the Chancellor been in the hands of the Bishop or of a monastic body at the commencement of the *studium*, it would hardly have been surrendered without a severe struggle, of which some evidence would have been forthcoming. Uncertain as is the origin of the title of Chancellor, the office it stood for is evidently an imitation of the Parisian chancellorship, reproducing in Oxford, which had no cathedral, the cathedral dignity of Notre Dame. At Paris the Chancellor was not a member of the University, which entrusted its own administration to a rector of its own choice; at Oxford the Chancellor was at once the Bishop's scholastic official as well as the head of the masters who themselves elected him. Thus the peculiarity of the Oxford chancellorship consisted in its unique combination of the functions of a Continental Chancellor with those of a Continental rector. Like the Paris Chancellor, he was an ecclesiastical judge at the same time that, like the Paris rector, he was the head of the University. He enforced his ecclesiastical jurisdiction by excommunication, penance, and the deprivation or suspension of the licence to teach, and of scholastic privileges, whilst in his scholastic capacity he regulated the schools and the general conduct of the scholars. He also, as we shall see, combined secular authority with his ecclesiastical powers; but his position and the exercise of his jurisdiction excited no enmity among the masters and students, for instead of being a member of a rival corporation he was an episcopal official chosen, as Adam Marsh points out in a letter to Grosseteste, if not by the masters themselves, at any rate with their consent. There was thus in the beginning little of that struggle which at Paris resulted in so rapid an organisation of the University's forces, but meanwhile the Oxford Chancellor was passing naturally into the head of the University, which, on the other hand, was quietly appropriating his judicial authority.

The reader will now be able to form some idea, not indeed of the origin of the Oxford schools, for that is still enveloped

in mystery, but of their development into a *studium generale* with a rudimentary organisation which had been either imitated or brought from Paris. The next step is to see how that organisation was raised from its foundation of custom into a legal corporation.

II.

Similar causes joined in effecting this change to those which had been and were still at work in the University of Paris, of which Mr. Rashdall says that Oxford in its primitive form was an imitation, if not an unconscious reproduction. All that we can trace of the University of Oxford till the beginning of the thirteenth century is the bare existence of a Guild of Masters. But the constant intercourse with Paris was soon afterwards visible in the way in which every fresh development of corporate activity there was reproduced at Oxford, though, of course, with the modifications rendered necessary by the different relation existing between the University and the Chancellor.

Written statutes did not come till 1252, when it was enacted that no one should be admitted to the licence in theology who had not previously been a Regent in Arts, an enactment aimed at the Friars. About the same period, too, we find a magisterial decree against dancing in the churches on the feasts of the patron saints of the Nations enforced by an appeal to the authority of the Chancellor, though the Proctors were the ordinary executive of the Masters' Guild, summoning Congregation, administering oaths, &c., as they do at the present day. From this position of an external appellate authority the transition of the Chancellor to the headship of the University was a short and easy step, the result of which fusion of his two characters was the developed Oxford constitution. At first he was evidently not regarded as an integral part of the University, for he is not mentioned in the Bull by which Pope Innocent IV. in 1254 confirmed all the "immunities, liberties, and laudable ancient and rational customs, and approved and honest constitutions," and which was addressed to "the masters and scholars sojourning at Oxford."* From

* "Munimenta Academica," pp. 26, 28.

another Bull of the same year it would seem that the "beloved sons of the University of Masters and Scholars at Oxford" had petitioned to be taken under the protection of the Pope, a request which was benignantly granted, the wrath of God and of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul being called down upon all who should henceforward attempt to infringe the liberties and immunities which had been or should be duly and reasonably granted "by bishops, kings, great personages, and others of Christ's faithful." *

The division into Nations with elective officers at their head had been copied at an early date in Oxford. After a dispute between some scholars and townsmen in 1228, it was agreed that the matter should be settled by arbitration of the "four masters who should then be the chief." This may point to the proctors of four Nations, in accordance with the Parisian division, though at Oxford there seem only to have been two Nations, Northerners and Southerners, the river Trent forming the line of division. Taxors had been appointed in 1209, but the two proctors are first heard of in 1248, when they appealed on behalf of the University to Henry III. at Woodstock against the usury of the Jews and the hard bargaining of the burghers. Whilst there was opposition between town and gown on the one hand, there was also on the other a constant and heated rivalry between North and South which flamed into frequent faction fights. After one of these it was at length solemnly determined that the two Nations should be amalgamated, and henceforward the Faculty of Arts voted as a single body, though two proctors continued to be elected. As Mr. Rashdall here pertinently remarks: "The early extinction of Nations in the English Universities is a symbol of that complete national unity which England was the first of European kingdoms to attain." †

The constitution of Oxford is thus a sort of arrested development of that of Paris. It is the Parisian constitution transplanted after the establishment of the Nations and proctors, but before the emergence of the single common rector and the organisation of the different faculties into

* "Munimenta Academica," pp. 26, 28.

† Rashdall, vol. ii. p. 369.

distinct colleges. The Faculty of Arts was powerful at Paris, but its greater predominance at Oxford is seen in its right to approve statutes that were to be presented to the University. Meetings of the Artists were summoned by the proctors, who in this way acquired that practical veto upon any proposed legislation of which a notable instance was afforded when it was a question of the condemnation of Tract Ninety. The non-regents were also admitted to a share in the government, voting as a separate faculty. We thus get three distinct congregations :

1°. The *Black* or *Previous* Congregation of Regents in Arts, which met at St. Mildred's for inceptions, election of proctors, and preliminary approval of proposed statutes.

2°. The *Lesser* Congregation of the Regents of all Faculties, which met at St. Mary's for the control of financial matters, studies and degrees.

3°. The *Full* or *Great* Congregation of Regents and non-Regents, which met in the choir of St. Mary's as the supreme governing body of the University, in which voting was by faculties, and which was alone competent to make a statute.

III.

As at Paris, part of the constitutional development of Oxford was bound up with a struggle against the privileges and assumptions of Mendicant Orders which had early settled in the town—the Dominicans in 1221, and the Franciscans three years later. At first the two Orders of Friars had been located at the churches of St. Edward and St. Ebbe respectively, but they soon moved outside the walls. Their advent was warmly welcomed, and for a considerable period nothing arose to disturb the harmony which was quickly established between them and the University. Secular doctors long lectured in the conventual school of the Franciscans, while the illustrious Grosseteste, who was the first of their lecturers, showed himself throughout his life as Bishop of Lincoln “a warm friend and patron of the Order.” The statute, to which reference has already been made, limiting the multiplication of Friar doctors by requiring inceptors in theology to have previously lectured as bachelors, and by forbidding the graduation

in theology of men who had not taken their degree in arts, was probably a ripple from the storm which raged at Paris during the middle of the century. It does not, however, seem to have been sufficient to interrupt the friendly relations which existed between the University and the Orders on this side of the Channel, for, as Mr. Rashdall points out, there was at Oxford "less trace of dislike for the Mendicants as such." This mutual good feeling is also witnessed to by the generous use which the Chancellor and regents made of their dispensing power in favour of Friars upon whom the above-mentioned statute pressed hardly, and by the employment of the large well-built schools of the Friars for "examinatory sermons" and "theological vespers," which were not transferred to the University Church of St. Mary's till during the first decade of the fourteenth century.

But about 1310 the Friars were compelled to take the theological baccalaureate in the University instead of merely procuring an attestation of proficiency from their own superiors as heretofore. These regulations were resented by the Friars as irrational, and as changing the proper order of doctrine. As the struggle became more acute the graces hitherto so easily granted were refused, and in the end an oath of obedience to the statutes was required by the University from all Friars who came up for degrees, and even from those who were already Masters. This oath a Dominican doctor, Hugh of Sutton, refused. He was therefore expelled from the University, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was prevailed upon to excommunicate the contumacious Friars, who were then overwhelmed with all the vexations rendered familiar to us by stories of modern boycotting. These "exquisite and secret machinations," as the Friars described the tactics of the University in its struggle against encroachment, were carried through by the help of a regulation enacted in the first years of the century by which the regents in two faculties and a majority of non-regents were held to constitute a majority of congregation.

An appeal to Rome by both parties was the result. After being partly heard by a cardinal in 1313 the case was referred to arbitration in England. Judgment was given in the main in favour of the University. Those who objected to the

granting of a grace to a Friar were to swear that their refusal was not actuated by malice. The principle of majority voting was upheld with the modification that in future the majority must include three faculties instead of two, and that full notice of any proposed legislation should be given. This settlement received the royal confirmation; but that did not prevent the continuance of the dispute for six years, when at last the Friars were compelled to surrender the favours they had received from Pope John XXII. How the settlement was observed there is no evidence to show, but it is to be noticed that the University constitution as it emerged from "the great dispute of 1312-1320 continued in its main lines unaltered."*

IV.

The position of the Oxford Chancellor was, as we have already had occasion to point out, almost unique in the history of the mediæval University, and in nothing is this more apparent than in his relations with the townsmen. It is not a little peculiar to find a society of teachers at first sharing, and finally almost monopolising, the government of a town in a country like England, where local government by the representatives of the governed has existed for so many centuries. Whilst purely ecclesiastical in its origin and scope, we can easily understand that the Chancellor's jurisdiction in disputes between clerks and laymen, in which it was frequently difficult to determine which of the parties was plaintiff and which defendant, soon came to be exercised over the townspeople, and was submitted to by them, before it was formally recognised by the King, whose Council kept a close watch and a firm control over the local authorities. Based upon the ordinary Canon Law in regard to clerks, the Chancellor's jurisdiction was thus enlarged, at first by custom, and then by charter. The Legatine Ordinance of 1214 had provided that clerks arrested by the town should be given up to the Bishop or his Chancellor; and that this enactment was carried out is shown by the fact that the latter was in 1231 allowed the use of the prisons belonging to the town and the King, and

* Rashdall, vol. ii. p. 386.

thirteen years later was declared by royal writ to be the ordinary judge of all disputes as to rent, prices, debts, &c., in which one of the parties concerned was a clerk or the servant of a clerk. Things were carried a step further when, four years afterwards, the mayor and bailiffs were sworn to respect the privileges of the University, and the town as a corporation was made liable for injuries to scholars. The next addition to the Chancellor's power was the criminal jurisdiction granted him over laymen by a charter providing that laymen convicted of injury to clerks should be imprisoned in the castle till satisfaction, according to the judgment of the Chancellor and the University, had been made to the aggrieved cleric.*

Privileges and powers such as these were not obtained by the University without a struggle in which the usual weapon of academic secessions was freely wielded. The secession of 1209, which drew forth the Legatine Ordinance probably, Mr. Rashdall thinks, led to the permanent establishment of a University at Cambridge.† Another in 1263 reinforced a settlement which had been made from Cambridge three years previously at Northampton, whilst a third, consisting either of Northern scholars or of masters who had been worsted in a conflict with their students, led in 1334 to such a strong colony of scholars at Stamford that even within living memory an oath not to lecture in that town was exacted by the University from all Oxford masters. Long before this last date, however, the Chancellor's jurisdiction in nearly all cases in which a scholar was concerned had been confirmed. The way in which the privileges of the University were extended to its dependants may be judged from an indenture agreed upon by the Chancellor and the mayor in 1459, in which we read :

Fro henceforward these & non odur enjoye the privileges of the Universite, that is to say :—The Chaunceller, alle doctours, maistres, & other graduats, alle studients, alle scolars, and alle clerkes dwellyng within the precinct of the Universite, of what condicion, ordre or degree soever they be, every dailly continuell servant to any of them bfore rehersed belonging, the styward of the Universite, & fredmen of the same Universite wyth alle their menyall men, also alle Bedells with

* "*Quousque clerico satisfaciat et hoc arbitrio Cancellarii Universitatis Oxoniæ.*"—"*Munimenta Academica*," p. 776.

† Rashdall, vol. ii. p. 395.

dailly servants & their housholdes, alle stacioners, alle bokebynders, lymppers, wryters, pergemeners, barbouris, the belle-rynger of the Universite, with alle their housholdes, all catours, manciples, spencers, cokes, lavenders, povere children* of scolers or clerkes within the precinct of the said Universite, also alle other servants taking their clothinge or hyre by the yere, half yere, or quarter of the yere, taking atte leste for the yere vi shillings & viii pence, for the half iii shillings & iv pence & the quarter xx pence, of any doctour, maister, graduat, scoler or clerke withoute fraud or malengyne; *Also* alle common caryers, bryngers of scolers to the Universite . . . or fetcher of any scoler or clerk fro the Universite for the tyme of such fetchyng or bryngyng or abidyng in the Universite for that entent, &c.—“*Munimenta Academica*,” vol. i. p. 346.

After such a surrender the limits of municipal jurisdiction must have been indeed narrow. The policy that was carried out by the barons of securing confirmations of *Magna Charta* was also practised by the University in regard to its grants of privileges. Such ratifications were frequent, and especially at the beginning of a new reign. One of the conditions exacted in return for such a confirmation granted in 1315 was the recitation of 1500 whole psalters, from which, in company with Mr. Rashdall, we feel that it would scarcely be rash to infer that in the number of psalters prescribed we have an approximate estimate of the number of scholars then studying at Oxford.

The fiercest conflict between the town and the University befell in 1354. A tavern row which began with a complaint about bad wine quickly developed into a general riot. The angry clerks flung the wine and the quart pot at the saucy vintner's head, and his friends called the commonalty to arms. Next day the scholars went as usual to lecture, but were attacked whilst playing in the Beaumont fields, where some were slain. The bells of St. Mary's and St. Martin's rang out a call to arms, and each party prepared for a pitched battle. The townsmen imported bands of roughs from the surrounding country districts, and a savage onset was made on halls and scholars. On the following day the Chancellor departed for Woodstock to complain to the King. The scholars, who had been hopelessly outnumbered and bidden to remain indoors, were again attacked, murdered, and mutilated. Hostels were

* Boy servitors.

plundered, a procession of Friars was mobbed, and even the right of sanctuary was madly violated.

But the town had had its day, and vengeance fell swiftly and heavily. Both town and University had to surrender all their privileges, papal as well as royal, into the hands of the King, and the town was laid under an interdict for a year whilst a Royal Commission investigated the whole affair. The result was fresh privileges for the University and further humiliation for the municipality. The various assizes, the care of the streets even, went to the Chancellor, and "from this time forward the town of Oxford was practically governed by the Chancellor of the University." The citizens had to restore their plunder and to pay £250 damages. For the relaxation of the interdict they had to undertake to have an annual Mass at St. Mary's for the souls of the slaughtered scholars, at which the corporation was to attend, each member giving a penny at the offertory. After the Reformation this requiem was changed to a sermon and Communion, then it was reduced to a Litany, but the fine was not abolished till 1825. How thoroughly the town was cowed may be gathered from the agreement as to the extension of the privileges of the University which we have quoted above. General inquisitions as to the morals of the inhabitants by a doctor of divinity and two masters in each district had been carried on from the last years of the thirteenth century. The supervision was minute and seems to have been specially close with regard to those who kept late hours. Assault cases were common and were by no means confined to scholars. Monks and Dons seem to have been equally free with fist and tongue. Many of the disputes were settled in the most parental fashion, the disputants being made to dine together, and even in the words of the proverb to kiss and be friends, a system of settlement which Mr. Rashdall thinks was well adapted to the wants of an age in which full-grown and well-educated men fought and quarrelled and informed against one another on the slightest provocation, like children in a nursery.* Irishmen even then seem to have been especially distinguished for their turbulence, which in 1413 actually led to their being banished from the University by Act of Parliament.

* Rushdall, vol. ii. p. 416.

V.

Whatever be the theory accepted as the adequate explanation of the development of the Oxford schools into a University, there can scarcely be any question that those schools were in some way or other connected with the Church. As far, however, as direct and reliable evidence is concerned, the history of the relations of the latter academic corporation with the ecclesiastical authorities is a blank till the year 1214, when the Legatine Ordinance broke in upon the state of ecclesiastical anarchy of which the University was, in a sense, the child. The long vacancies in the See of Lincoln and its remoteness from Oxford allowed customs to spring up which helped to place the Chancellor, though the representative of the Bishop, in a position of large freedom and to emancipate the University from episcopal and even archiepiscopal jurisdiction. University history only contains one parallel to the Chancellor's position at Oxford, and that is the Medical University of Montpellier, which was not then an episcopal See, and in which an elective Chancellor was at once the Bishop's officer and the head of the University.

With the restoration of ecclesiastical order the University fell under the close control of the Bishop of Lincoln, its relations with whom were for a long time thoroughly cordial. This remark is especially true of the episcopate of Robert Grosseteste, who held the See from 1235 till 1253. The disputes which broke out immediately after the accession of his successor, Henry of Lexington, seem to be the cause of an appeal to Rome by the University, which Innocent IV. befriended by taking it under the protection of the Holy See and by appointing the Bishops of London and Salisbury as conservators of its privileges, especially against the possible encroachments or oppression of their brother of Lincoln. Lexington seems to have objected to the practical autonomy which, acquired by custom, was then being formulated in written statutes. At first the Chancellor had shared his right to demand the surrender of scholars imprisoned by the town authorities with the Archdeacon, but later grants were made in favour of the Chancellor only. Thus, as Mr. Rashdall tersely explains :

The independent jurisdiction conferred upon the Chancellor by successive extensions of royal privilege, combined with the unique character of the office, the vague and mysterious authority supposed to reside in the University, the facility with which in the Middle Ages the custom of a decade or two was held to establish inalienable rights, combined to make the Chancellor practically independent of the distant prelate from whom he derived his commission, even before he obtained canonical immunity.*

In 1279 Archbishop Peckham and the Bishops of the province in synod at Reading confirmed the Chancellor's privileges and provided for their effective exercise in any diocese to which his subjects might betake themselves, at the same time recognising the University's share in his right of excommunication. *Vires acquirit eundo*, and a year later we see the University standing out for the recognition of the following four privileges as based upon immemorial custom: (1°) that scholars might cite lay defendants before the Chancellor; (2°) that the probate of scholars' wills and (3°) the inquisition over scholars belonged to the Chancellor, (4°) before whom alone masters could be compelled to plead in regard to contracts entered into with the University. Again the Bishop objected, but again he had to give way to an adverse decision of the Archbishop and a provincial synod, so that "from this time forward the Chancellor's jurisdiction was practically exclusive of the Bishop's in all ordinary cases." These decisions furnish ample evidence of the formidable reality of the jurisdiction exercised by the Archbishop of Canterbury in those times, and this is still further attested by the metropolitical Visitations of the University in 1276 and 1284 under Kilwardby and Peckham. Succeeding disputes arose principally from the refusal of Chancellors-elect to apply for confirmation from the Bishop, but the question was at last set at rest by a papal dispensation which was granted in 1368 by Pope Urban V. The freedom thus formally gained had been asserted thirty years before by the University declaring its right to depose a Chancellor by its own authority.

This exemption from ecclesiastical control did not prove an unmixed blessing for the University. Liberty degenerated into licence; for, in the words of Mr. Rashdall, "it was during

* Vol. ii. p. 421.

this period of academical liberty that Wycliffism grew up, and it can hardly be doubted that the Wycliffite movement was powerfully aided by the practical exemption of the University from direct episcopal control.* Condemned by the Pope in 1377, and by Archbishop Courtenay and his assessors in 1382, the doctrines of Wycliffe, whose prestige was partly due to his position as a schoolman and partly to the support of a political party, found so much favour and support in Oxford that the Chancellor was obliged on his knees to crave pardon for attending a sermon in support of them. The Archbishop, fondly believing that he had cast out the growing heresy, later on procured from Pope Boniface IX. in 1395 a Bull exempting the University "from the jurisdiction of all Archbishops, even *legati nati*, Bishops, and Ordinaries."

The imprudence of such a grant was painfully apparent to those who were in closer touch with University life, and were aware of the abuses to which "this spoiled and rebellious daughter of the Church" was giving way. Accordingly, in the year following, the opportunity presented by a complaint concerning the continued teaching of Wycliffism was seized by Archbishop Arundel to compel the proctor, who put in the Papal Bull in opposition to the metropolitan's jurisdiction, to renounce the privilege of exemption, and in this he was supported by a royal writ. A synod held at Oxford in 1408 and the Convocation of Canterbury both forbade the teaching of Wycliffism in the schools, besides ordering a monthly inspection of each college and hall, and the censorship of all books that were to serve as the basis of lectures. An attempt to get the University itself to condemn Wycliffism was met with a good deal of opposition, but in the end even a board packed with "sufficiently suspected" persons agreed in condemning 267 propositions, which were duly burnt at Carfax. From all this it is clear that many in the University either did not realise the danger of Wycliffe's teaching, or cared less for the preservation of purity of doctrine than of their academical privileges. Fortunately, however, "the zeal of the English Court and prelates against heresy was greater than their respect for the letter of papal privilege," which had been pro-

* Vol. ii. p. 427.

cured through the intercession of Archbishop Courtenay, an ex-Chancellor of the University.

Arundel followed up his success by citing the University to appear before him as Visitor at St. Mary's, a demand which the University answered by fortifying the church, whilst armed students marched the streets to resist the Archbishop's entrance or progress. This brought an interdict upon the town, and a joint requisition from the King and the Archbishop for the resignation of the Chancellor and proctors. A cessation was decreed in consequence, but the Bull of Boniface was revoked by John XXIII., and this brought the University to its knees before the Archbishop, whose right of visitation was solemnly declared in Parliament. So satisfactory and complete was the University's submission that in 1479 it was rewarded by a Bull from Sixtus IV. restoring Boniface's Bull of exemption, whilst a little later the Chancellor was empowered to license preachers in any diocese. After this it would surely be hard to accuse the Popes of any want of liberal-minded or generous treatment of the University.

Perhaps it may here be interesting to note that at first the Chancellor was elected every two years, but after the re-election in 1837 of Robert de Stratford—who, having become Bishop of Chichester, was allowed to be non-resident—the custom sprang up in the following century for the chancellorship to be a permanent office held by a non-resident, who could thus be useful to the University at Court. Later, and especially at and after the Reformation, in the bitter words of Mr. Rashdall, "the chancellorship—once the symbol and organ of academic autonomy—became practically the instrument of its subjection to an autocratic Court and an Erastian prelacy."*

VI.

The large question of the housing of the scholars, which has already been briefly referred to in connection with the University of Paris, cannot unfortunately be entered upon here with anything like the attention to detail which its interesting developments deserve. The college system has, however, become so important a part of University institutions in

* Vol. ii. p. 439.

England that a few particulars of its growth cannot well be omitted. Corporate buildings formed no part of the idea of the infant University, which was a mere personal organisation that could migrate at a moment's notice, and so threaten the trade interests of the town in which it was established, and even the political ambition of the Sovereign of the country. Its poverty was thus its strength, as its very misfortunes were the causes of its thriving. At Oxford the University had to borrow St. Mary's Church for its earliest congregations and Latin sermons, whilst St. Peter's in the East served for the English sermons, St. Mildred's being the meeting-place of the Faculty of Arts.

At first the scholars resided in single lodgings about the town, and in little self-governing communities under the direction of one of themselves, who was responsible for the rent of the hall or hostel. These little democratic communities gradually passed under the authority of Masters who were responsible to, and under the regulation of, the University. The jurisdiction thus accruing to the Chancellor arose from the security which had to be given to him for the rent of the house, the equitable assessing of which by a joint board of masters and burghers is one of the few acts indicative of some sort of corporate life which can be traced back to a period anterior to the Legatine Ordinance of 1214. By 1489 the halls had become a recognised part of the University system, but they are now being abolished by what we are happy to see Mr. Rashdall denounces as "one of the most vandalistic and unintelligent of our University reforms."

The first to provide a permanent endowment for an Oxford scholar was Alan Basset, who died in 1243, leaving money for two chaplains to pray for his soul and to study at Oxford or elsewhere. Six years later, William of Durham bequeathed 310 marks to be invested in rents for the support of ten or more Masters of Arts studying theology. In accordance with this bequest, but not until some of the money had been frittered away, a hall for four Masters of Arts was bought, which was the germ of University College. Though without any charter of formal incorporation, it was allowed to grow rich in lands, in the course of a lawsuit concerning which, in 1377, in order to bring their cause before the King's Council, the

masters and scholars "devised the impudent fiction of a royal foundation by Alfred the Great, which has now become part of the law of England by a decision of the Court of King's Bench."

The belated execution of William of Durham's bequest gave time for other benefactors to set the example which his executors followed. The first Oxford college in actual fact was that of Balliol, which owes its foundation to the penance enjoined for a raid upon Sir John de Balliol, who undertook to provide perpetual maintenance for certain poor scholars who entered into residence in 1260. The house was put on a permanent footing by his widow. It was merely a hall of students presided over by a principal of their own election, the finances being in the hands of two external procurators.

The true conception of an academical college was, as at Paris, derived from the colleges of the older religious Orders, which were entirely designed as places of study. Just before the last decade of the thirteenth century a Chapter General of the Benedictine Order held at Abingdon imposed a tax of 2*d.* a mark on the revenues of the houses in the province of Canterbury to maintain a hall at Oxford as a house of study for their subjects. Four years later John Giffard's foundation of Gloucester Hall for thirteen monks from Gloucester was thrown open to students from all the Benedictine convents of that province, each being obliged to send up at least one monk. About the same time the Northern province evinced its activity by the erection of collegiate buildings for its monks from Durham; and Richard de Bury, the Bishop of that city, bequeathed to Durham College a library, the building erected for which forms the connecting link between the ancient monastic house and the modern Trinity College, which dates back to the reign of Queen Mary. The monks of Christchurch had Canterbury Hall, whilst the Cistercians sent their students to Rewley and St. Bernard's. In all these places the conventual rule was carried out as far as was compatible with the following of the University course; and there can be no question that the regularity, discipline, and mutual help maintained and given in these monastic houses must have largely helped to determine the lines upon which the regulation of the secular colleges was effected by later benefactors.

To Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, belongs the praise of being the true founder of the English college system. Having resolved to devote his savings to the provision of a theological education for students, especially of his own family, he made over, in 1263, the manor of Malden in Surrey to a community of scholars, the expenses of whose maintenance in a hall at Oxford or some other University was defrayed from the revenue of the farm. This contemplation of a possible transference of his students to Paris seems to have been incorporated in the first statutes in consequence of the disturbed state of the country, then distracted by the Barons' War. That nothing might mar his plans he also secured a house at Cambridge. Meanwhile he was busy acquiring property at Oxford, where, by the impropriation of the Church of St. John the Baptist and some houses in its neighbourhood, a permanent home was established in what became known as Merton Hall. Fresh statutes issued in 1274 placed the warden of the country house at Malden at the head of the Oxford community, amongst whom order was kept by a sub-warden, aided by *Vicenarii* and *Decani*. The Deans were to keep the peace among the cousins, and they were in turn assisted by the senior in each chamber—a regulation which, it is interesting to note, was introduced by William of Wykeham into his school at Winchester, and so became the origin of the "monitorial system."

The acquaintance we have already made with the laxity and licence of life in University towns will save us from surprise at the minuteness of these regulations for the maintenance of reasonable order and discipline in an exclusively secular college, which eventually produced a revolution in the tone and character of University life in England. Merton's scholars were corporate landowners who could live at the college all the year round until they got the chance of a career for which they had thus been able to prepare. A country house for the teaching of grammar to little boys was also provided. The only limit set to the number of the fellows was the capability of the revenues for their support, and the founder's thought for his academical family also led him to provide for the acquirement of advowsons, by which his scholars might get the start they needed in their clerical career.

The local restrictions placed by Merton on admissions to the fellowship of his college were not carried out at Oriel, which grew out of Adam de Brome's foundation at Tackley's Inn, and the fellowships of which were not restricted to any one part of England—a peculiarity which, Mr. Rashdall thinks, "contributed largely to make an Oriel fellowship the blue ribbon of University distinction." *

Another important advance is seen in Wykeham's foundation of New College to serve as a finishing school for his boys from Winchester. Wykeham wisely provided that the teaching in the school should be supplemented by tuition given in college by the older fellows, who received an additional allowance for their pains. Wykeham may thus be credited with the institution of the tutorial as well as of the monitorial system, the former of which eventually did away with all occasion for the lectures of the regents and of the arts professors. His genius was not limited to educational regulations; he was the creator of English collegiate architecture. It was probably his skill as an architect that introduced him to the King's notice and so led to his preferment, which seems to have excited Wycliffe's jealousy at seeing a clerk "wis of bilydnye of castelis or worldly doynge" so honoured. His design was to raise a great secular institution which should vie with the great monastic establishments, and in which the prominence and magnificence of the chapel was an outward token of the prominence of the ecclesiastical character of the college.

The next notable step in collegiate regulations was a provision in William of Wayneflete's statutes for his college of Magdalene admitting twenty *filii nobilium*, who were not merely to board but to be educated at the college. This introduction of gentleman commoners silently brought about another revolution in University life by which the students in arts gradually came to live in the colleges where the only real teaching in arts was given.

VII.

And here we are brought to the conclusion of our task. The sketch we have given of the development of the Oxford

* Vol. ii. p. 494.

schools into places of wide celebrity and resort in the academic world, and of the steps by which their association of masters achieved their proud position of autonomy and privilege, has but emphasised the lessons inculcated by the history of the great Universities of Bologna and Paris. Oxford never, for several reasons, exercised the same influence in politics that was wielded by the mother institution at Paris, but there can be no question that, as a centre where speculative thought enjoyed a large freedom, and from which the administrative of the nation was principally drawn, it supplied plentiful contributions to the making of English history. The main features of a student's life at Oxford have already been vividly portrayed in Mr. Herbert's sketch of St. Edmund of Abingdon, in the July number of this REVIEW, and so we may pass on to register a few impressions which the history of Oxford can scarcely fail to force upon the attentive reader.

To the modern mind the absence of collegiate buildings in the early days of the Universities is a fact little short of startling. Oxford was a home of great masters and of multitudes of scholars long before she acquired those splendid buildings, the acquisition of which brought about as far-reaching a revolution in University history as the transmutation of the blood-tie into the land-tie effected in tribal development. The early democratic and almost anarchical character of the University was checked and broken by the colleges, which, as affording homes where the scholars were sheltered from danger and trained to discipline, forced upon the University "a local habitation and a name," and impressed it with a local, political, and aristocratic character. Thus, whilst the University was for the world and made for progress, the college embodied stability and was for the nation. The University was for the teaching of knowledge, the college for the formation of the character. Each was the complement and crown of the other, so that in Cardinal Newman's words, "it would seem as if a University seated and living in colleges would be a perfect institution." But such an ideal union and equilibrium of forces was difficult to achieve and almost impossible to maintain. At the Reformation Oxford shared the fate of the hierarchy: the component parts, the colleges, were preserved, but the University was superseded, with the result that the

colleges, like the bishops, left to themselves by the destruction of the legal incorporation of the intellectual principle, became inactive owing to the lack of jurisdiction in the University.

As to the education imparted at the mediæval Universities, there is little disputing the fact that it was at once too dogmatic and too disputatious. In days when books were few and costly, when teaching was given by the medium and enforced by the magnetism of the living word of the masters, it is easy to understand how schools of thought sprang up which were only too ready on all occasions to defend their own. Words slipped into the place of things, but not, it must be remembered, into the place of thought. The knowledge gained may not have been very extensive, but the system undoubtedly sharpened the wits and trained the mind, and so turned out a multitude of capable administrators for the government of Church and State. This was recognised by Mr. J. Stuart, M.P., in his rectorial address to the University of Aberdeen in January last. He pointed out that though we may be tempted to smile at the narrow limits within which the knowledge of those times was contained, we must not imagine that the faculties of men trained within those limits were either imperfectly or less adequately trained than our own. The extent of their knowledge was obviously less, but their intellectual education was not necessarily less. It was thus, according to the needs of the day, a practical education, training men to think and work rather than to enjoy, to be avid for knowledge as an opening to temporal advantage rather than for the love of learning for learning's sake. The danger to true education in such a system has been happily pointed out and illustrated by Dom Gasquet in the October number of the DUBLIN, by reference to the "Metalogicus" of John of Salisbury, who, speaking of two of his masters, Alberic and Robert de Melun, regrets that they had not "supported themselves on the great base of literature and more closely followed in the tracks of the ancients." Innocent III., Grosseteste, Bacon, and others vainly strove to prevent the quenching of classical studies in scholastic disputation and to preserve some love for the form in which the argument was cast. The scientific spirit of the thirteenth century, which showed itself in the systematic treatment of the Church's teaching in the *Summa*, was pur-

chased at the price of the sacrifice of literature—the flower of the mind.

The University, we have seen, is a distinctly mediæval institution, evolved by the age to meet its own needs, within the pale and under the direction of the Church; and, in spite of the changes of modern times, the educational machinery it gave to the world is still with us, as mediæval and yet as modern as trial by jury and Parliament itself. The study of so great an institution cannot but help us to a better appreciation of the other great forces which combined to build up the fabric of mediæval society, and especially of the Papacy. As at Bologna and Paris, so here in England at Oxford, whilst the local authorities were repressive, we see the Popes, benignant and broad-minded, encouraging masters and scholars, nursing their nascent organisation into vigorous life, watching and gently controlling everything, checking municipal greed, episcopal jealousy, and even kingly interference, confirming its immunities and privileges, and taking the institution under the *ægis* of their protection.

With far-sighted and fearless wisdom the Papacy discerned what was of worth in the new developments of thought, and knew how to reconcile the new with the old. It was this faultless sagacity and aloofness from local contentions, reinforced by its divinely ordained primacy, that naturally made it for Christendom the Tribunal for International Law, the acknowledged and supreme arbiter in all causes, civil as well as ecclesiastical. It would be difficult indeed for any candid student of University history not to recognise the working of this element in the growth of the University of Oxford—"the second school of the Church."

J. B. MILBURN.

ART. V.—DIVIDED HOSTS AT TREATY COMMUNIONS.

A QUERY.

THAT the Holy Mass occupied the foremost place in the daily devotional life of our Catholic forefathers is a truth confessed by all. A literature exists to demonstrate the fact. The Mass sanctified the private, and ratified the public, acts of the community. And while Holy Communion was the support of the spiritual life of the individual, it was also frequently the solemn seal set upon acts of international amity. Records are not rare of communions received by the contracting parties on the conclusion of a treaty, and due significance has been attached to them; but less notice has been given to a curious practice sometimes connected therewith—the fraction of a single Host between the national representatives. A couple of instances from Tudor annals illustrate at once the nature of the custom and the faith which was its motive. They are taken from George Cavendish's "Life of Cardinal Wolsey." Who that studies Reformation history is not familiar with the volume? It has, indeed, its errors; but they are mistakes of forgetfulness, not wilful mis-statements of fact.

Cavendish took pen in hand in Mary's reign; and lapse of time entailed the occasional citing of a wrong date and of a wrong locality. Mr. Brewer has indicated such lapses from exactitude. Writing, moreover, at his Suffolk home, Cavendish necessarily had no recourse to men who, at the centre of events, could at need have reinforced a failing recollection. When, however, all deductions have been made, his history remains the most vivid contemporary presentment alike of the career and the character of the statesman who, "from a third-rate kingdom of little account in Europe, raised this nation to an equality with the highest."* And then the dramatic force and picturesqueness of the narrative!

* "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII." Arranged by J. S. Brewer, M.A. Vol. iv. Introduction, p. dxxxii. London. 1875.

We can see Wolsey's daily procession to Westminster Hall in Term time: the great seal of England and the Cardinal's hat borne before the red-robed burly figure, with a tippet of sables about his neck, holding in his hand the sponge-filled orange whose vinegar and confections were the preservative against the "pestilent airs" of the press of suitors. We can hear the cry of the gentleman-ushers, "On, my lords and masters, on before, make way for my Lord's grace;" and can watch him mount the mule trapped in crimson velvet. Who, again, like Cavendish, has portrayed for us Wolsey's capacity for work, as in the record, for instance, of that day in France, when, sitting down at four o'clock in the morning to write letters to the King, the Cardinal moved for neither meat nor drink until four in the afternoon, and then did not break his fast until he had heard Mass, said his Office, and walked in the garden for over an hour? The poor chaplain, vested and waiting from dawn till vespers, probably desired that his master's measure of industry had been less. The vignettes, too, that Cavendish draws with a touch so firm and sure! The Earl of Northumberland seated on the servants' bench at the end of the gallery in York Place rating his son, Lord Percy, for his love of Anne Boleyn; and that other picture of Master Cromwell after his master's fall "leaning in the great window" at Esher on All Saints' Day "with a Primer in his hand saying of Our Lady mattins" before starting for the court to "make or mar," as he said, are examples, among many, of the piquant intensity of Cavendish's consummate skill in characterisation.

Two passages of this priceless book refer to a fracture of the Host as mentioned above. Now, sincerity of purpose and loyalty to pledge are integral qualities for the permanence of any treaty between peoples or agreement among rulers. The piety of our Catholic ancestors knew no better or higher way to secure this continuity than by reception of the Blessed Sacrament—of Him who is "the Truth"—on the part of the monarchs or ambassadors. Kneeling side by side before the altar, the kings or their deputed representatives received the Blessed Sacrament, the same Host being divided between them. Sanction of the most sacred kind was thus imparted to the state alliance.

Cavendish's first mention of the fact occurs in his account of Wolsey's visit to France. The defeat of Francis I. at Pavia in 1525 was followed, it will be remembered, by imprisonment in Spain, whence the King was liberated in the following year on the cession of his sons, the Dauphin and the Duke of Orléans, as hostages. Francis professed to believe that his freedom was due to Wolsey, and negotiations were set on foot for the conclusion of a treaty between their countries. Meanwhile, at home, the plot had been secretly begun for the divorce of Katherine of Aragon, and, abroad, the political situation had been complicated by the terrible sack of Rome in the month of May, 1527. Early in the following July Wolsey set out for France,* "ostensibly to settle the particulars of the late treaty, really to divulge to Francis so much of the King's purpose as might be confided to his ears without danger."† The incidents of the mission are known to students. The French King and the English Cardinal met at Amiens, and in August the treaty was sealed and confirmed. Cavendish gives the following account of the reception of the divided Host by Francis and Wolsey. The ladies mentioned are the King's mother, Louise of Savoy, and his sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême, the widowed Duchesse d'Alençon, who, in the beginning of this same year, had married Henri d'Albret, the young King of Navarre :

And in the feast of the Assumpcion of our ladye, my lord roose betymes and went to the cathedrall chirche de noster Dame, and there byfore my Lady Regent and the Quene of Naver, in our Lady Chappell he sayd his servyce & masse, and after masse, he hymself mynystred the sacrement unto bothe my Lady Regent and to the Quene of Naver. And that don, the kyng resortyd unto the chirche, and was conveyed in to a riche travers at the highe aluter's end; and directly ayenst hym on the other side of the aluter, sat my Lord Cardynall, in another riche travers, iii gressis hyer than the Kyng's. And at the aluter, byfore theme bothe, a bysshope sang hye masse, and at the fraccion of the host, the same bysshope devyded the sacrament bytween the Kyng and the Cardynall, for the performance of the peace concludyd bytween theme.‡

* "The First Divorce of Henry VIII." By Mrs. Hope. Edited by F. A. Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B. P. 53. London. 1894.

† Brewer, *ut sup.* iv. p. cclx.

‡ "The Life of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal Archbishop of York." Written by George Cavendish. Transcribed after the autograph manuscript of the author. P. 78. Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press. 1893.

Shortly afterwards Wolsey returned home, and an embassy arrived from France. Its members were welcomed with the utmost splendour, and were entertained by the King in his court at Greenwich. Preparations were also made at St. Paul's Cathedral vastly surpassing in magnificence the scene at Amiens, and the reception of the divided Host was repeated, the communicants alone being changed. The Cardinal was celebrant, and the communicants were Henry VIII. and the French ambassador:

And for the performance of this noble and perpetuall peace, it was concludyd and determyned that a solempne masse shold be song in the cathedrall chirche of Powll's by the Cardynall; ayenst whiche tyme there was prepared a gallerye, made frome the west doore of the chirche of Powll's unto the quyer doore, raylled on every syde, uppon the whiche stode (vessels) full of parfumes bornyng. Then the kyng, & my lord Cardynall, & all the Frenche men, with all other noble men and gentilmen, were conveyed uppon this gallery unto the highe aulter into ther traversys. Than my lord Cardynall prepared hymeself to masse, assocyatted with xxiiii myters of bysshoppes and abbotts attendyng uppon hyme, and to serve hyme in such ceromynyes as to hyme by vertue of his legantyne prerogatyfe was dewe. And after the Agnus, last the kyng roose owt of his travers and kneled uppon a cushon and carpett at the highe aulter; and the Graund Master of Fraunce, the cheafe ambassitore, that represented the kyng his master's presence, kneled by the kyng's majestie, bytwene whome my lord devydyd the sacrament, as a firme othe and assuraunce of this perpetuall peace. That don, the Kyng resorted agayn unto his travers, and the Graund Master in lyke wyse to his.*

So much for indisputable records of this curious practice in France and in England. Are any other instances known to scholars learned in historical or Eucharistic lore?

For the sake of strict accuracy, it may be well to add that what at first sight appears to be an example in Spain of a Host divided in lay hands, though not for treaty motives, proves on examination to be devoid of foundation. In the masterly "Introduction" of Mr. Brewer already cited occurs a note descriptive of the serious illness of Francis I. during his captivity. The passage is a translation of a letter written by De Selve, the president of the Paris *parlement*, to the members of that body. The author's words are:

* Cavendish, *ut sup.* p. 98.

It is eight days since (Sept. 25) that Madame the duchess (d'Alençon) assembled the ladies and gentlemen in attendance to offer up their prayers to God. All received their Creator; and afterwards mass was said in the King's chamber. At the elevation of the Holy Sacrament, monsignor the archbishop of Embrun exhorted the King to look at the Holy Sacrament. On this the King, who till then had lain without sight or hearing, lifted up his hands; and, mass done, Madame the Duchess presented the Holy Sacrament for his adoration. Incontinently the King said: "It is my God, who will heal me, body and soul; let me receive Him." On somebody saying that he could not swallow the Host, he replied, "Let it be done." Then Madame the Duchess broke off a part of the Host, which he received with the greatest compunction and devotion, not able to refrain from bursting into tears. My said lady the Duchess received the rest. From that hour he continued to amend; and the fever, which had continued without intermission three and twenty days (15 ?), left him.*

Now various, as we know, were the ceremonial usages of Christendom before the great Council of Trent corrected diversity. Still, to read of a lady who could in no way claim to be a St. Clare, "presenting" and "breaking" the Blessed Sacrament, and that, moreover, in the presence of an Archbishop, is a matter passing both wonder and belief. The text of the original letter in the "Documents Inédits" differs, however, from the translation. To Mr. Brewer every scholar and student is eager to acknowledge his indebtedness and his gratitude; and it were ungracious in the case of a historian so distinguished for learning, for insight, and for fairness, to do more than indicate the fact of the freedom of his version of the President's report. The *fit presenter* and the *fit departir* make, of course, "all the difference":

A Messeigneurs, Messeigneurs de Parlement, à Paris — Messeigneurs, considerant le grand ennuy que pouvez avoir conceu, sachant la grieve maladie du Roy, il m'a semblé vous devoir escrire sa convalescence et guerison, pour consoler la compaignie. Je l'ay veu, par le jugement de deux de ses medecins et avec ceux de l'empereur, sans esperance; et avec ce toutes les signes de la mort estoient: car demeura aucun temps sans parler, veoir, ne oyr, ne congnoistre personne. Il y a aujourd'huy huit jours que madame la duchesse feist mettre en estat tous les gentils-hommes de la maison du Roy et les siens, ensemble ses dames, pour prier Dieu, et tous receurent nostre Createur; et après, fut dicté la messe en la chambre du Roy. Et à l'heure de l'elevation du Saint-Sacrament, monseigneur l'archevesque d'Ambrun exhorta le Roy à regarder le Saint-

* Brewer, *ut sup.* p. cvii. note.

Sacrement; et lors, ledict seigneur, qui avoit esté sans veoir et sans ouïr, regarda le Saint-Sacrement, esleva ses mains, et après la messe, madame la duchesse luy fit presenter ledict Saint-Sacrement pour l'adorer. Et incontinent le Roy dit: "C'est mon Dieu qui me guerira l'ame et le corps, je vous prie que je le reçoive." Et à ce que l'on luy diet qu'il ne le pourroit avaler, il respondit: "Que sy feroit." Et lors madame la duchesse fit departir une partie de la saincte hostie, laquelle il receut avec la plus grande compunction et devotion, qu'il n'y avoit cueur qu'il ne fondit en larmes. Ladicte dame la duchesse receut le surplus dudict Saint-Sacrement. Et de ceste heure-là, il est toujours allé en amendant; et la fièvre, que luy avoit duré XXIII jours sans relascher, le laissa, et en est de tout net, graces à Dieu: et nature a faict toutes ses operations naturelles . . . par dormir, boire et manger: tellement qu'il est hors de tout danger, qui est œuvre de Dieu miraculeuse, ainsy que les François et Espagnolz qui ont esté allentour de lui, ont chacun jugé. Et certains jours auparavant qu'il perdit la cognoissance, il avoit autres fois receu le Saint-Sacrement et s'estoit getté à genoux hors son lit, tout en chemise, et demandant pardon à Dieu, et prononçant le pseaume: *Ego dici in dimidio dierum meorum*, et prononça fort devote-ment: *Domine, vim patior; responde pro me.**

* * * * *

Escript à Tollede, le premier jour d'octobre, MV^eXXV.

Vostre très humble serviteur et frere

JEHAN DE SELVE.

To return to the question already asked: are other instances known of Hosts divided between ambassadors of treaty-contracting peoples? The work of Father Bridgett is a well-nigh inexhaustible storehouse of Eucharistic erudition—how gladly would the long-promised volume dealing with the Reformation and post-Reformation periods be welcomed by many whose eyes have ached for the sight of it!† Historical data respecting belief and its outward phenomena abound on almost every page, from the ordinances of Henry V. to his soldiers on this very subject of the touching of the Blessed Sacrament, to the narrative of the Viaticum borne by devout ladies to the priest-prisoners of the Paris Commune. But of such fractions as are described by Cavendish records are wanting. Do they exist?

WALTER SYLVESTER.

* "Captivité du Roi François Ier." Par M. Aimé Champollion-Figeac. ("Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'histoire de France.") No. CLVIII. Paris: Imprimerie Royale. 1847.

† This wish was expressed whilst the saintly and scholarly Redemptorist was still amongst us. R.I.P.

ART. VI.—EARLY SCOTTISH SAINTS.

1. *Breviarium Aberdonense*. Bannatyne Club. 1855.
2. *Acta Sanctorum*.
3. *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*. By A. P. FORBES, D.C.L. 1872.

BY a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, dated July 5, 1898, the Holy Father has conferred upon the Church of Scotland a boon which has been long desiderated. In response to the petition of the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh and his suffragans, he has restored to their former *status* as recognised Saints of the Church Catholic a goodly number of the servants of God, whom Scotland in past ages loved to honour, until the Reformation hewed down their churches and images, scattered their relics to the winds, and endeavoured, as far as might be, to banish the very memory of them from the minds of men.

The saints whose *cultus* has been thus declared to have existed *ab immemorabili tempore* are the following: SS. Constantine, Maelrubha, Magnus, and Donnan with his companions, martyrs; SS. Bean, Blaen, Colman, Duthac, Fergus, Fintan, Moluag, Machar, Nathalan, Palladius, and Talarican, bishops; SS. Adamnan, Comgan, Drostan, and Foelan, abbots. It is proposed in this article to give a slight sketch of the life and work of these servants of God; for on account of their absence from our altars their very names have all but fallen into oblivion.

The difficulty which confronts any student of Scottish hagiography is the want of reliable records from which to glean information. No written history of the country existed before the middle of the fourteenth century, when John Fordun, a chantry priest of Aberdeen, set himself to the task of collecting materials, and Andrew Wyntoun, Prior of St. Serf's, Lochleven, a contemporary of Fordun, essayed a similar work. Valuable as their histories are in all that regards their own times, they are unreliable as to earlier periods. Then, again, the ancient service books, which would have afforded

much help in this respect, were to a great extent lost during Reformation troubles. Many of them, indeed, met with little respect at the hands of Puritans.

The chief source of information extant on the *cultus* of Scottish Saints is the Breviary of Aberdeen, drawn up for the use of the whole of Scotland by the learned and pious Bishop of that See, William Elphinstone, only a few years before the crash came. It was almost the first—if not the very first—book printed in Scotland, and was published in 1509. The Martyrology of Aberdeen, drawn up a few years later, only exists in manuscript, with the exception of the commemorations of Scottish Saints which have been printed by the Society of Antiquaries.* The MS. is preserved in the University Library, Edinburgh. It forms a valuable appendix to the Breviary. These two records are all that remain of a use proper to Scotland, and from them the Bollandists and Scottish hagiographers have drawn almost all that they have to tell us about early Scottish Saints. There is, however, an evident difficulty in accepting everything that even these authorities—reliable as they generally are—have to tell us. Although the holy Bishop made such use as he could of the writings of Bede and other early historians, and frequently quoted from ancient Irish documents, yet the bulk of his matter came from popular tradition and legend, as he himself affirms. It follows from this that many details, and some of no little importance, are rejected by modern critics for want of sufficient evidence.

Fortunately, much light is thrown upon Scottish ecclesiastical history by Irish martyrologies. The most important in this respect are the Martyrology of Tamlacht, of the ninth century, preserved at St. Isidore's, Rome; the "*Felire of Ængus*," dating from the same period, and of which two copies are in the Bodleian; and the Martyrology of Maelduire O'Gorman, of the twelfth century, published in 1895 by the Henry Bradshaw Society.

The information gained from these various sources is corroborated in a striking way by the existing remains of the *cultus* of the early Saints, in the shape of churches bearing their

* "*Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland*," vol. ii. p. 259, *et seq.* Dr. Forbes has reprinted these extracts in his "*Kalendars of Scott. SS.*" p. 127.

names, holy wells attributed to them, and markets and fairs held on their festivals. As regards the churches it is remarkable that many of such dedications superseded the original title after the death of the respective founders. Thus many of the churches which had been called after St. Patrick by some Irish missionary became popularly known by the name of the latter, just as St. Martin's at Whitherne became St. Ninian's, and the churches dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles by St. Boniface Queritinus bore their founder's name only in later ages.

Much might be said with reference to the holy wells which form such a striking fact in Celtic hagiography. Antiquarians are often puzzled to explain their origin and use. It would take too long to enter fully upon the subject here; the sequel will show what an important part they play in witnessing to the honour paid to many a Saint, in tracing the course of his missionary labours, and even in preserving a memory which otherwise would have been forgotten.

Fairs, as is well known, had their origin in the celebration of festivals. The name *fair* is but another form of *feria*, "a holiday," and the assembling together of people for the purposes of devotion led to merchandise—at first from necessity, afterwards from convenience. The sacred terms which designate the Holy Sacrifice itself in Germany or in Brittany—*Messen* in the former, *Kirmis* in the latter—and which are equally applied to such gatherings, are a proof in point.

In treating the history of the Saints in question, it will be convenient to take each in the order of time. They range from the middle of the fifth to the early part of the twelfth century. Under this arrangement the first to come before our notice is ST. PALLADIUS, whose feast-day falls on July 7. The chief authority to be relied upon, as to the scanty information to be gathered concerning him, is St. Prosper of Aquitaine. That writer mentions him in connection with the mission of St. Germanus to Britain for the extirpation of Pelagianism there; representing "Palladius the Deacon" as obtaining the appointment of that Bishop from Pope St. Celestine I.* From the same author we gather that St.

* "Ad actionem Palladii diaconi Papa Celestinus Germanum Antisiodoren-

Palladius was later consecrated Bishop by the same Pontiff and sent to the Scoti.* Much discussion has arisen between Scottish and Irish writers as to which country he evangelised. The Scottish tradition claims for St. Palladius the title of Apostle of Scotland, and boasts of possessing his remains. Irish authorities declare that the term *Scoti* at that epoch applied solely to their own race, and that St. Palladius in fact went to Ireland and founded four churches in the province of Leinster.†

Both traditions are reconciled by the "*Vita Prima S. Patricii*," written before the eleventh century. It relates that St. Palladius, not being received with good-will by the Irish, passed over to Britain by the north, and was driven by a tempest to land on the east coast, where he founded the church of Fordun.‡ This account tallies with that of other Irish writers, and also with the Aberdeen Breviary, which speaks of his preaching in the Mearns, and of the Fordun foundation. He died in A.D. 431. His relics were transferred to a silver shrine at Fordun, where he had been buried, by Archbishop Schevez of St. Andrews in A.D. 1494.§ The Martyrology of Aberdeen speaks of a translation, "*nostris temporibus in quendam capellam ibidem.*"

The ruins of a chapel dedicated to the Saint still exist at Fordun, and near them is a spring known in local parlance as Paldy's Well. A market is held in the place every year on the feast-day; it is vulgarly styled Paldy's Fair. A proof of the estimation in which this shrine was held is seen in the fact that King Kenneth III., who was murdered at Kincardine Castle in the vicinity in A.D. 994, had come there on a pilgrimage to Fordun.|| The connection of St. Palladius with Scotland is alluded to in the Brief of Leo XIII. restoring the Scottish hierarchy.

In the sixth century we come upon a group of our Saints.

sem Episcopum vice sua misit ut deturbatis hereticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigeret" (S. Prosp. "Chron. Migne," tom. li. No. 744).

* "Ordinato Scotis episcopo Palladio" (S. Prosp. "Liber contra Collat." cap. xxi.).

† Vide "Bollandists," vol. xxix. p. 286.

‡ Forbes, "Kalendars," p. 428.

§ Boece, "Hist." lib. viii. fol. 128.

|| "New Statistical Account of Scotland—Kincardineshire," p. 67.

The first in order of time is ST. CONSTANTINE, King and martyr, whose feast falls on March 11. He was not of Scottish birth, but in early life reigned as King amongst the Britons of Cornwall. The Aberdeen Breviary says that he became a monk on the death of his Queen. This was in the monastery of St. David at Menevia; for though the Breviary lessons, following some Irish writers, make him abbot of a monastery in Ireland,* Dr. Forbes shows that a confusion has arisen between two saints of the same name and like nobility of birth.† After some years spent in retirement, Constantine, at the instigation of St. Kentigern, who had himself lived at Menevia, devoted himself to the evangelisation of the south of Scotland, and founded a monastery at Govan in Lanarkshire, from which centre he and his disciples made missionary journeys into the surrounding districts. It is related of St. Constantine that he ever wished and prayed for the martyr's crown, and that his prayer was granted. While in Cantyre he was assailed by unbelieving opponents, who wounded him and left him for dead. He lingered till he was found and consoled by his disciples, and, after his death, was borne to Govan and buried there. He died in extreme old age about the year 590.

Several churches bore this Saint's name in Scotland. Kirk-constantine, mentioned in the "Registrum" of Glasgow,‡ may be identical with Govan. Dunnichen in Forfarshire had his church, where St. Cousland's Flaw still perpetuates his memory, and St. Cousland's Fair is held annually. Kinnoull, near Perth, was also under his patronage, with many other churches. The water from the well of this Saint—known there as St. Cowstan—at Garrabost, in the island of Lewis, was reputed never to boil any kind of meat, even though kept over the fire for a whole day.§

Contemporary with St. Constantine was ST. BLAAN, who was held in honour both in Scotland and Ireland. He was born of a noble Irish family, and spent seven years in his early manhood under the tutelage of the renowned St. Comgall, Abbot of Bangor, and St. Kenneth. He then passed over to

* *Vide* "Bollandists," vol. viii. p. 62 (March 11), who seem to lean to that opinion.

† Forbes, "Kalendars," p. 312.

‡ "Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis," Bannatyne Club, vol. i. p. 122.

§ Mackinlay, "Folk-lore of Scottish Lochs and Springs," p. 54.

the Isle of Bute, where St. Cathan, his mother's brother, was at that time dwelling. Here he devoted himself to the service of God and the exercises of a penitential life. In later years he was consecrated bishop, and afterwards made a pilgrimage to Rome. Returning to Scotland, he preached in Bute and other parts of the country.

In the parish of Kingarth, Bute, the ruins of his church may still be seen, forming together with the picturesque scenery amid which they stand a spectacle of unusual beauty. Dunblane, afterwards the site of a cathedral, claims him as its founder. There was a parish of Kilblane in Argyllshire, and its old church may still be traced in the modern parish of Southend. Dumfries had a church of St. Blaau.*

The bell of the Saint is still preserved at Dunblane; it is a small handbell, bearing upon its side the characters St. ✠ B. Up to the early part of this century it was the custom to ring it at all funerals in the parish.†

Certain miracles related of St. Blaau are rejected by the Bollandists as *fabulæ*.‡ One of them was the rekindling of the church lamps by striking fire from his fingers as from a flint, to escape a reprimand for neglect of duty in his care of the lamps. He died August 11, A.D. 590.

St. MOLUAG flourished at the same period as the preceding Saint, the date of his death being given as A.D. 592. The Latin form of his name is Luanus. In his appellation we have a striking instance of the Celtic practice of expressing affectionate reverence by the addition of both affix and suffix to the original name, which in this case is Lugaidh (pronounced and sometimes written Lua). With *mo*, the title of honour, and *ag*, an expression of endearment with a diminutive sense, the name becomes Moluag, which in English is equivalent to "My own dear (little) Lua."

The Saint was born of a noble Irish family, and became a monk at Bangor. He is said to have founded as many as a hundred monasteries, and to this fact St. Bernard alludes in his eulogy of that celebrated Irish abbey:

Verily the place was holy and fruitful in Saints, plentifully rendering

* Vide "Liber S. Marie de Calchou," Bannatyne Club, p. 11.

† "Proceed. Soc. Antiq. Scot." vol. i. (3rd series) p. 21.

‡ "Acta SS." vol. xxxvi. p. 560.

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a harvest to God, so that one of the sons of that sacred family, Lua by name, is said himself alone to have been the founder of a hundred monasteries.*

Desirous, like so many of his countrymen, of lending missionary aid to those of kindred race and tongue in the neighbouring island, Lua passed over to Scotland, and settled at Lismore in Argyllshire, where he is said to have converted many to the Faith by his kindly and attractive bearing. He founded many churches and monasteries in other parts also, and is said to have been especially zealous in Ross-shire, building many churches there "to the honour of God and His Mother Mary," as the Aberdeen Breviary has it. He died worn out with his many labours on June 25. The lessons of his feast say that he was buried in the Cathedral of Ross, at Rosemarkie—evidently, as Dr. Forbes remarks, on the authority of Boece;† but the Cathedral of Lismore possessed his relics in later ages.

The crozier of St. Moluag, known as the *Bachuill More* (*baculus*) of the Saint, remained for centuries after the Reformation on the island of Lismore, in the possession of its hereditary custodians, a family named Livingstone, who were popularly styled the *Barons of Bachuill*; the last of the race gave it over to the Duke of Argyll, who still has it.‡ The bell of the Saint was preserved at Lismore till the Reformation, when it disappeared; but one discovered at Kilmichael Glassrie in Argyllshire, in 1814, has been conjectured with some show of certainty to be the lost relic of St. Moluag.§

Great devotion existed in Catholic ages towards this Saint both in Ireland and Scotland. He is styled in the "Felire of Ængus":

Luce the pure, the brilliant, the Sun of Lismore in Alba.

Many dedications attest his popularity in Scotland. Besides his church on the island of Lismore, which became the Cathedral of Argyll, there were others in the Western Islands.

* "Locus vere sanctus fecundusque sanctorum, copiosissime fructificans Deo, ita ut unus ex filiis sanctae illius congregationis, nomine Luanus, centum solus monasteriorum fundator extitisse feratur" ("Vita S. Malachiae," cap. vi.)

† Vide Forbes, "Kalendars," p. 411.

‡ "Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot." vol. vi. (N.S.) p. 80.

§ *Ibid.* p. 79.

Kilmoluag (now Kilmuir) in Skye, Kilmoluag in Mull and in Tiree, and others in Raasay, Pabbay, &c., were some of them. *Teampull Mor* ("the great church"), in Lewis, was one. Lunatics were brought, up to thirty years ago, from various parts of the north-west to this ruin to pass the night in it, in hopes of a cure being wrought.* This is only one instance of many in which devotion to the Saints of Scotland has degenerated into Protestant superstition.

On the mainland also St. Moluag has his churches. Near that at Mortlach, Banffshire, is his Well, popularly known as *Simmerluak's Well*. Clatt, in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire, is another of his dedications, and there his annual Fair, called *St. Mallock's*, is still held. At Tarland, in the same county, is another church, and here *Luoch Fair* is kept up. At Alyth, in Perthshire, is *St. Malogue's* or *Emaloga's Fair*.

The two remaining Saints of this century were both connected with the great St. Columba. The first of these in order of time is St. MACHAR or MOCUMMA, whose feast-day is kept on November 12. He was the son of an Irish chieftain named Fiachna, and of his wife Finchoemia, and was baptized by St. Colman. He became a disciple of St. Columba, and was one of the twelve companions chosen by that Saint to share his exile in Scotland. He was eventually consecrated a bishop, and, with twelve disciples chosen by St. Columba, was sent to preach to the pagan Picts of Strathdon. Tradition says that St. Columba commanded him to found a church where he should find a river forming by its windings the shape of a bishop's pastoral staff, and that this led to the establishment of a church at Aberdeen. St. Machar is said, among other miracles, to have healed seven lepers.

The Cathedral of St. Machar in old Aberdeen perpetuates the memory of the Saint to this day. Not far from the church is a spring known as *St. Machar's Well*, whence the water was brought for baptisms administered in the cathedral. Another well in Strathdon, at Corgarff, called *Tobar Mhachar*, has the reputation of having been miraculous in its effects. There are two parishes in Aberdeenshire bearing the Saint's name; they are known as *New* and *Old Machar*. At Kil-

* "Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot." vol. iv. p. 268.

drummie, in the same county, is a rising ground called *Machar's Haugh*.

The last Saint of this group belongs to a younger generation of St. Columba's disciples, for he lived into the beginning of another century, while St. Machar probably died some years before the close of the sixth, the precise date not being known. ST. DROSTAN was of Scottish birth and was descended from King Aidan, of Dalriada, the friend of St. Columba.* In early youth he is said to have shown a strong attraction towards meditation on the Incarnation and Passion of Christ, which led to his resolution to embrace monastic life. His pious parents sent him to St. Columba, who was then in Ireland, that the boy might be trained for his future state. When arrived at a fitting age, Drostan became a monk in a monastery known as Dalquongal,† and was afterwards chosen as Abbot of that house. Longing for a life of solitude, he secretly resigned his charge and returned to Scotland, where he dwelt as a hermit in the spot now known as Glenesk. In later years he seems, from the "Book of Deer,"‡ to have joined St. Columba at Iona. It must have been at this period of his life that Drostan preached in the district of Inverness-shire known as Glenurquhart—a beautiful and fertile valley opening out from Loch Ness, about twelve miles distant from the Highland capital. St. Columba himself visited the locality, and baptized an old Pict named Emchat and Virolec his son, and it may have been at that period that Drostan received the district as his special charge. It became known as *Urchudainn mo Chrostaín* (St. Drostan's Urquhart), to distinguish it from other places of the same name.

The "Book of Deer" supplies the remainder of the Saint's history. It represents him coming to Buchan in company with St. Columba, and receiving from Bede, the Pictish ruler, the town of Aberdour in gift. Then, when Bede's son had been restored to life by St. Columba's prayers, a

* Skene, "Fordun's Scotichronicon," lib. iii. cap. 31.

† It would seem more probable that this was an Irish monastery, and not Holywood, near Dumfries, as some suppose. The Celtic name for the latter was *Dercongal*. *Daiore* signifies "a small wood"; *Dal* "a meadow."

‡ This MS. of the ninth century, preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge, is the oldest Scottish book extant. It consists of St. John's Gospel and portions of the others in Latin, and the Celtic legend of the foundation of the monastery of Deer.

further grant was made to the two Saints of a piece of land on the bank of the river Ugie, about twelve miles inland from the Moray Frith, and there the monastery was founded. The Celtic legend runs thus :

Columcille gave that town * to Drostan and blessed it, and left as his word, " Whosoever should come against it, let him not be many-yeared (or) victorious." Drostan's tears (*deara*) came on parting with Columcille. Said Columcille, " Let Dear be its name henceforward." †

Drostan ended his days in this monastery, and his body was laid to rest in a stone tomb at Aberdour, as the Aberdeen Breviary relates, adding, " where many sick persons find relief." His feast was kept on December 14. The Bollandists give the year of his death as about A.D. 600.‡

St. Drostan's name is perpetuated in many dedications in the northern districts of Scotland. Glenesk, in Forfarshire, besides his church, possesses *Droustie's Well*, a spring of clear water, and *Droustie's Meadow*. He had churches at Edzell and Lochlee, in the same county, as well as at Aberdour and Old Deer, in Buchan, Aberdeenshire ; Rothiemay on the Deveron, Banffshire ; Alvie and Urquhart, Inverness-shire ; Halkirk (St. Trostan) and Cannisbay, in Caithness. No fewer than five holy wells bearing his name exist between Edzell and New Aberdour.§ *St. Drostan's Fair* is still held at Old Deer each December ; *Dustan Fair* was formerly kept at Insch in the Garioch.

In Glenurquhart, Inverness-shire, the tradition survives that the Saint used to cultivate *Croit mo Chrostaín* (St. Drostan's Croft), which in 1556 was attached to St. Ninian's Chapel, popularly known as *An Teampull* (the Temple),|| a name perpetuated in the landing-place for Loch Ness steamers known as Temple Pier. In the chapel was a chaplaincy of St. Drostan, and his cross was long venerated there. The keeper of the Saint's relics—probably an hereditary office, as in many

* The Celtic word here rendered *town* is often applied to any small group of buildings, such, *e.g.* as a monastery.

† " Book of Deer," Spalding Club, p. 92.

‡ " Acta SS.," vol. xxx. p. 190 (July 11).

§ Mackinlay, " Folk-lore of Scott. Lochs and Springs," p. 41.

|| Mackay, " Urquhart and Glenmoriston," p. 325.

other like cases—had the use of *Croit an Deoir* (*Dewar's* or *Keeper's Croft*), as a recompense for his services.*

Passing on to the next group of Saints, we come to ST. DONNAN and his companion martyrs, who suffered on Sunday, April 17, A.D. 617. The Aberdeen Breviary has no proper lessons for their feast. It is from Irish sources that information has to be gathered.† The “*Felire of Ængus*” thus commemorates the martyrs :

With the festival of Peter the Deacon ‡
To glorious martyrdom ascends,
With his clerics of pure lives,
Donnan of cold Eig.

The Saint was an Irish monk who came from his native land to St. Columba at Iona, to place himself under his rule. The *gloss* on the “*Felire of Ængus*” thus relates the story :

This Donnan went to Columcille to make him his soul's-friend ; § upon which Columcille said to him, I will not be soul's-friend to a company [heirs] of red martyrdom, || for thou shalt come to red martyrdom, and thy people with thee. And it was so fulfilled. Donnan then went with his people to the Hebrides ; and they took up their abode there, in a place where the sheep of the Queen of the country were kept. This was told to the Queen. Let them all be killed, said she. That would not be a religious act, said her people. But they were murderously assailed. At that time the cleric was at Mass. Let us have respite till Mass is ended, said Donnan. Thou shalt have it, said they. And when it was over they were slain, every one of them. ¶

The scene of this martyrdom was Eigg or Egg, a small island of the Hebrides. St. Donnan's companions are said to have numbered fifty-two. Many churches, especially in the Western Islands, were dedicated to these martyrs. Thus

* Mackay, “*Urquhart and Glenmoriston*,” p. 387.

† *Vide* “*Bollandists*,” vol. xi. p. 483.

‡ A martyr of Antioch ; his name occurs in the martyrology attributed to St. Jerome, as also in that designated St. Bede's, and in that of Christ Church, Dublin. O'Gorman's Martyrology has on this day, “*With Peter in chief holiness.*” *Vide* Reeves, “*Vita S. Columbae*,” Bannatyne Club, p. 304.

§ *Soul's-friend* is the term commonly used in Irish records to denote Confessor.

|| The Rule of St. Columba distinguishes between *red* and *white* martyrdom ; the latter denoting monastic life with its penitential observances. *Vide* Skene, “*Celtic Scotland*,” vol. ii. p. 508.

¶ The above translation of the Irish original is taken from Dr. Reeves' “*Vita S. Columbae*,” Bannatyne Club, p. 305.

besides Kildonan of Eig, there were others at Colmonel, Arran, South Uist, Uig, Cantyre, Lochbroom, and Sutherland. In Kintail, Ross-shire, is a place called *Castle Donan*. On the island of his martyrdom is the Saint's holy well. Up to the Reformation the pastoral staff of St. Donnan was treasured at Auchterless, in Aberdeenshire, but it was destroyed by the Puritans.*

ST. FINAN is a better-known historical character than many of the preceding. He was a monk of Iona, and was chosen to succeed St. Aidan in the See of Lindisfarne. He is worthily entitled the Apostle of the Mercians and Mid-Angles; Peada, son of the notorious persecutor Penda, received baptism at his hands, and at the request of the new convert the Saint despatched missionaries to his people, and afterwards consecrated Diuma as first Bishop of the Mid-Angles, from which nation the Faith spread into Mercia. It was St. Finan, too, who baptized Sigebert, King of the East Saxons, and sent to them St. Cedd as their first Bishop.

One of St. Finan's greatest works was the foundation of Whitby, in conjunction with the great Abbess Hilda. The Saint ruled his diocese only ten years, dying in A.D. 661. His feast falls on February 17.

ST. COLMAN, his successor, and like him a monk of Iona, is even better known. He figures in history as the great opponent of St. Wilfrid in the Synod of Whitby, in the discussion on the Paschal computation. Colman, indignant at the slight cast upon the memory of his beloved founder St. Columba by St. Wilfrid's denunciation of the Celtic practice, broke off the discussion and preferred to resign his See, after holding it for three years only, rather than give up the old customs and traditional usage which Rome had not as yet prohibited.

Taking with him the relics of St. Aidan, which his predecessor had enshrined in the church he had built in their honour at Lindisfarne, he departed for Iona, accompanied by about thirty English monks, and such Irish monks as had joined him there. After a stay at Iona he set sail with his followers for Ireland, and established the monastery of Inisbofin on an island off the coast of Mayo, where he placed his community.

* "Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," Spalding Club, p. 505.

Later on a separation took place between the English and Celtic members of the community, another monastery, long called *Mayo of the Saxons*, being appropriated to the former. St. Colman ruled both houses till his death in A.D. 676 at Inisbofin. His feast-day is February 18.

St. Bede, though no sympathiser with St. Colman's views on the Easter question, speaks very highly of his character as a zealous and virtuous bishop. The ruins of the church at Inisbofin, where St. Aidan's relics were long preserved, may still be seen on that island.

Contemporary with this Celtic Saint was one of Pictish nationality who died only two or three years after St. Colman, but whose life and character differ from his in many particulars. ST. NATHALAN, the patron Saint of Deeside, was born of a noble family at Tullich, Aberdeenshire. From his early youth he was distinguished for fervent, simple piety. Though of high rank, he loved to labour in the fields, finding in that occupation a help to prayer and a means for subduing the passions. It is said of him that having on one occasion given away all his corn in time of famine, he caused the fields to be sown with sand, trusting for a fresh crop to the bounty of God, and the result was a plentiful harvest. Having in a moment of impatience murmured slightly against God's providence, he imposed upon himself a severe penance: he resolved to make a pilgrimage to Rome, wearing a heavy chain which he secured to his body by a lock, throwing the key into the river at a spot still called *The Pool of the Key*. One legend goes on to relate that the key was found within the body of a fish he had bought for food when he arrived in Rome.

He was consecrated bishop while in Rome, and after some years spent in prayer and study, begged to be sent to preach to his own nation. Returning to Scotland, he built three churches in Aberdeenshire—Bothelney, Tullich, and Collie or Cowie. He is said to have visited Ireland also, and to have founded the monastery of Dungiven in Ulster. The "*Felire of Aengus*" has, on January 8:

Nachtan nair de albæ—"Nechtan from the East, from Alba."

He died at a very advanced age on January 8, A.D. 678, and was buried at Tullich, where miracles were wrought at his shrine.

Forming the top lintel of one of the doors of the old church at Tullich is a huge slab of granite, which formerly lay in the church ; it bears an antique cross cut into it, and may possibly have once formed part of the Saint's tomb. Bothelney, now known as Meldrum, is called after him, the name being probably a corruption of *Bothnethalen* ("dwelling of Nathalan"). He is said to have averted a raging pestilence from this place by the fervour of his prayers ; and even in Protestant times, long after the reason for it had been lost sight of, the inhabitants observed the 8th of January every year as a general holiday, when no work might be done. Near the old church is a spring called *Nauchlan's Well*. An annual market, called *St. Nathalan's Fair*, was held there until comparatively recent times. At Cowie, the fishermen have the following rhyme :

Atween the Kirk and the Kirk ford
There lies St. Nauchlan's hoard.

Passing on to the eighth century we are confronted by two Saints whose lives were much connected—ST. COMGAN and his nephew ST. FOELAN. The former (sometimes less correctly styled Congan) was the son of Cellach Cualann, a prince of Leinster, and succeeded his father in the government of his province. His uncompromising Christian principles stirred up the opposition of neighbouring rulers, and being worsted in battle, he was compelled to fly the country. He took refuge in Scotland and settled in Lochalsh, Argyllshire, where he led a life of penance, and from time to time preached the Faith in many districts of Scotland. He died, broken with labours, about the middle of the eighth century, and was buried at Iona. His feast is kept on October 13.

Numerous churches bear St. Comgan's name ; among others, Kilchowan, in the parish of Kiltarn, in Ross and Cromarty ; Kilcongan in the island of Seil ; St. Coan in Strath, Isle of Skye, with many more. Turrieff in Aberdeenshire, besides a church dedicated to him, has an annual fair, known as *Cowan Fair*. At this town a hospital dedicated to St. Comgan was founded, in A.D. 1272, by Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, for the maintenance of thirteen poor husbandmen ; it was served by a collegiate body consisting of a master and six chaplains.*

* Walcott, "Ancient Church of Scotland," p. 391.

St. Foelan, or Fillan, has gained a far more illustrious name in Scottish history. His pious mother Kentigerna, sister of St. Comgan, trained him for the service of God from his early years. He is said to have taken the monastic habit in the monastery of Taghmon, in Wexford, under the rule of St. Fintan-Munnu. He afterwards joined his uncle, St. Comgan, at Lochalsh. His memory still survives in that district, in a church dedicated to him at Killillan (Kilfillan), and in that at Kilkoan, which he is said to have built in honour of St. Comgan.

The scene of St. Foelan's chief labours was Perthshire, where Strathfillan is called after him. Proofs of a widespread devotion to him are to be found in that part of the country; the ruins of a church, measuring 120 feet by 22 feet, are still to be seen there, and close by is the celebrated *Holy Pool* of St. Foelan. In Catholic days its waters were believed to possess the power of curing the insane, and even now it is much frequented, chiefly by Protestants. A hundred years ago a visitor from England saw hundreds bathe in the water for the cure of various maladies. The Catholic practice of leaving an *ex voto* was then imitated by the Protestant pilgrims, but had degenerated into the custom of leaving a portion of the bandage which had covered the diseased limb, or a piece of the patient's clothing. The visitor in question found the *cairns*, which it was part of the ceremony to erect from stones out of the pool, covered with gloves, handkerchiefs, caps, and rags of every describable article of clothing. Many pilgrims would throw small coin into the water.* Another well of the Saint near Struan Church, Perthshire, named *Tobar Faolan*, was formerly much frequented. In Catholic ages the image of the Saint was carried in procession to the spring and placed in the water, to obtain his help against drought. A fair was held here on the first Friday after New Year's Day—evidently the Protestant equivalent for the feast-day, when the latter was no longer observed; the gathering was called *St. Foelan's Fair*.†

Two important relics of the Saint are still extant. The crozier of St. Foelan is now in the National Museum, Edin-

* "Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot." vol. viii. p. 266.

† *Ibid.* vol. xii. (N.S.) p. 383.

burgh, having been purchased for £100 about forty years since, from the hereditary custodian, who had emigrated to Canada, taking the treasure with him. It had been discovered by an Oxford student, in 1782, in the cottage of a Perthshire labourer named Malise Doire (or "Malise the Keeper"), and although the existence of the valuable relic was notified to the Society of Antiquaries at the time, no steps were taken to obtain possession of it till ninety years later.*

The other relic is the bell of the Saint, now in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society in the same city. It had been carried off as an instrument of superstition by the English gentleman mentioned above in relation to the Holy Pool; after remaining at his house in Hertfordshire for over seventy years, it was eventually restored to Scotland through the efforts of the Earl of Crawford and Dr. Forbes, Protestant Bishop of Brechin. The bell, in post-Reformation times at least, was used as an instrument to complete the cure of any pilgrim who had bathed in the pool.†

The success of Bruce at the Battle of Bannockburn is attributed to the aid of St. Foelan. Boece relates how the King, anxious for the result of the morrow's conflict, was praying before the reliquary which contained, as he thought, the arm of the Saint, when a noise was heard as of the shutting-to of the casket. The priest who was in charge of the relic thereupon examined the reliquary, and found the relic within; though, as he then confessed, he had brought only the empty case, fearing the loss of the precious treasure. The circumstance is said to have given such confidence to the Bruce and his soldiers, that victory followed their efforts.

A former holy well of this saint, known as *Fillan's Well*, near the ruins of the old parish church of Houston, in Renfrewshire, was filled up during the last century by the minister as a superstitious relic. *Fillan's Fair* is still held there annually, in January; the old church, as the ancient name of the parish, Killellen, designates, being dedicated to this Saint. St. Foelan's feast-day falls on January 9.

Another Saint of the eighth century was ST. FERGUS. He

* Anderson, "Scotland in Early Christian Times," vol. i. p. 216.

† "Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot." vol. viii. p. 266 *et seq.*

was an Irish bishop, who, after many years of missionary labour in his own land, crossed over to Scotland, in company with a few priests and clerics, and settled in Strathearn, where he founded three churches. Thence he proceeded to preach to the Pagan people of Caithness. Afterwards he turned southwards to Buchan, and built a church at Lungley—a parish afterwards called St. Fergus. Finally he passed on to Glamis, in Forfarshire, where he founded another church. It was there he closed his days.

The dedications which are to be found in honour of this Saint corroborate his history as related by the Breviary of Aberdeen. In Strathearn are his three churches, Strogeth St. Patrick, Blackford St. Patrick, and Dolpatrick—the name of the great Irish apostle witnessing to the nationality of their founder. In Caithness are the churches of Wick and Halkirk, the latter being formerly called St. Fergus and St. Thomas. In Banffshire was a parish called St. Fergus, and at Kirk-michael in that county is still to be seen *Fergan Well*, noted for its pilgrimages to obtain the cure of skin diseases. In Aberdeenshire the churches of Dyce and Inverugy were dedicated to him. There was a chapel and well of St. Fergus at Inchbrayoch near Montrose. Glamis, in addition to his church, has his cave and well. At Wick, besides a holy well called after St. Fergus, an old image representing the Saint was in existence up to recent times; it represented him clothed in monastic garb. The features were defaced at the Reformation.

The arm of St. Fergus was among the treasures of Aberdeen Cathedral:

Item, brachium argenteum Sti. Fergusii cum ossibus ejusdem,

appears in the inventory.* The head of the Saint was venerated in the Abbey of Scone; James IV. gave a reliquary for it. The crozier of St. Fergus, formerly preserved at St. Fergus in Buchan, is said to have been instrumental in calming the waves during a storm. It has now disappeared. This Saint is thought to be identical with the "Fergustus Episcopus Scotiæ" whose signature appears in the decrees of a synod held by Pope St. Gregory II. in St. Peter's, A.D. 721. His feast-day is November 18.

* "Reg. Episc. Aberd." Spalding Club, vol. ii. p. 160.

The previous Saints have been placed first in this group on account of the uncertainty as to dates; for the following we have more accurate information. ST. ADAMNAN, Abbot of Iona, is familiar to students of hagiography from the life of his dear father, St. Columba, which he has left to us. He was born of noble parents, and belonged to the family of St. Columba. While residing in Ireland he became the intimate friend and confessor of the Irish King, Finnachta *the Festive*. At the age of thirty-five he became a monk at Iona, and twenty years after was elected abbot. He was employed on an embassy to Aldfrid, King of Northumbria, in A.D. 686, on behalf of the ransom of certain Irish captives, and later on undertook a similar journey for another object connected with Ireland. He is also said to have been instrumental in passing the *Lex Innocentium* in the Irish National Assembly at Tara; thus releasing Irish women for the future from any part in military service. St. Adamnan's visits to England familiarised him with Roman usage, and although he did not live to see the Roman Easter celebrated in Iona, he paved the way for its acceptance by his uniform gentleness and charity towards his brethren with regard to that burning question. His influence had much to do with the eventual conformity of the Irish Church to the universal custom.

St. Adamnan was a man of no mean learning for the times in which he lived. He was well versed in Scripture, and acquainted with both Hebrew and Greek. Besides his "*Vita S. Columbae*," styled by a Protestant writer "the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but even through the whole Middle Ages,"* he wrote a treatise on the Holy Land, valuable as being the first produced in Europe; his authority on the subject was Asculpho, a bishop of Gaul, who had seen the holy places and who visited Iona during Adamnan's residence there.† St. Adamnan died at Iona on September 23, in the year 704, at the age of seventy-seven. His relics were carried to Ireland, but were afterwards restored to Iona, as they might be venerated there, in A.D. 1520.‡

* Pinkerton, "Enquiry," Pref. vol. i. p. xlviii.

† Vide "Bollandists," vol. xlv. p. 648.

‡ "Martyrol. Aberd."

His numerous dedications show St. Adamnan to have been one of the most popular of Scottish Saints. The chief of these were the churches of Aboyne and Forvie in Aberdeenshire, Forglen in Banffshire, Tannadice in Forfarshire, Kileunan in Cantyre, Dull, Blair-Athole, and Grantully in Perthshire, Kinneff in Kincardineshire, and Abriachan in Inverness-shire. At Aboyne are the *Skeulan Tree* and *Skeulan Well*; at Tannadice, *St. Arnold's Seat*; at Kinneff, *St. Arnty's Cell*; these all refer to this Saint. At Dull a fair is held on his feast (old style), called *Feil Eonan*, and in the garden of the Manse is his well, while down the glen a fissure in the rock is called the *Footmark of St. Eonan*. There is a St. Oyne's Well in the parish of Rathen, Aberdeenshire. The old name for Blair-Athole was Kilmaveonaig ("Church of my own Eon"). An ancient bronze bell, which was reputed to have belonged to the Saint, was long kept on a window-sill of the church at Insh on the Spey, near Kingussie.

Few names have passed through so many changes by popular corruptions as that of Adamnan. Besides the varieties already mentioned, it appears under the different forms of Ounan, Teunan, Onan, Aunan, Fidamnan, Eunende, and others, including the modern Ewen, a favourite Christian name in the Highlands.

Very little reliable information can be obtained regarding the life of the Saint next in order, since the various authorities differ considerably in their accounts. St. TALARICAN, according to the Breviary of Aberdeen, was an Irishman who laboured as bishop in the districts of Moray and Ross. He is said to have been consecrated by Pope Gregory—probably St. Gregory II. It is specially noted of him that he was careful to offer Mass daily. Dr. Forbes maintains from the character of his name that the Saint must have been of Pictish origin. He died about the year 720, and his feast falls on October 30.

The church of Fordyce, Banffshire, is dedicated to St. Talarican, and in the vicinity is *St. Tarkin's Well*. Near Loch Portree, in Skye, was a church and burial ground known as Ceiltarraglan. There is *Eglais Tarain* in the island of Taransay.* A spring at Kilsyth, Stirlingshire, is thought to

* *Ceiltarraglan* or *Kiltarraglan* and *Eglais Tarain* are Celtic equivalents to Talarican's Church.

refer to this Saint under a corrupt form of his name. The district of Kiltarlity, Inverness-shire, in which stand the ruins of Beaully Priory, takes its name from St. Talarican, as is proved from the Registers of Moray.*

About the same period flourished ST. MAELRUBHA,† another very popular Celtic Saint. He was of noble Irish descent, and became in early life a monk at Bangor under his illustrious relative St. Comgall. In his thirtieth year he crossed over to Scotland, and founded at Applecross in Ross-shire a rival monastery to Bangor, ruling it as abbot for over fifty years. He acquired a widespread reputation for sanctity throughout the entire West of Scotland and the adjacent islands.

The Scottish tradition, in which the Irish does not concur, makes him a martyr. The Breviary of Aberdeen relates that he met his death at the hands of Pagan Norsemen, at Urquhart, in the Black Isle, on the eastern side of Ross-shire. He died in A.D. 722, being eighty-one years old. His feast occurs on August 27.

Dr. Reeves maintains that no Saint of the Scottish Church, with the exception of St. Columba, was so popular in the western districts as St. Maelrubha. This is evidenced by the numerous dedications to him in that part of the country.‡ It is worthy of note that many of those attributed to Our Lady are really to this Saint under the title of St. Maree.§ In these dedications his name occurs in almost endless variety of spelling and pronunciation. We meet with it as Malruf, Molroy, Mury, Marie, Mary (with the accent upon the last syllable), and even as Errew, Olrou, Ru, Marro, and the like. Among these dedications are Applecross, where he was buried, Urquhart, the scene of his martyrdom, Portree (Skye), Arisaig, Gairloch, Forres, Fordyce (where he is known as *Summaruff*), Keith, and Contin. At Applecross is *Maelrubha's River*; near the ruined church is *Clasdh Maree*, supposed to be his grave, and, two miles off, *Suidhe Maree* (*Maelrubha's Seat*). At Forres in Moray, and Fordyce in Banffshire, annual

* *Vide* Batten's "Charters of the Priory of Beaully," pp. 23-28.

† The correct pronunciation of this name is Melrue—the accent on the penultimate.

‡ "Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot." vol. iii. p. 258.

§ *Ibid.* p. 271.

fairs are held on his feast. At Contin, near Dingwall, was also a fair called *Feil Maree*, which was familiarly known as the *August Market*; it is now held at Dingwall. Keith, in Banffshire, was formerly known as Kethmalruf—"Keith of Maelrubha." Loch Maree is the most interesting locality connected with this Saint; on a small island there, called *Inch Maree*, are the remains of a ruined chapel, marking the site of one of his numerous foundations. A holy well, hard by, was renowned for the cure of lunacy. Dr. Reeves, in his interesting paper on this Saint already referred to, enumerates no fewer than twenty-one churches bearing his name, besides countless place-names which perpetuate his memory.

The next Saint to claim attention is one of the eleventh century. ST. DUTHAC, a Saint of Scottish birth, as even Irish writers allow, passed over to Ireland in early youth, for the sake of the scriptural studies for which that island was then renowned. Returning to Scotland, he was eventually raised to the episcopate. His scene of labour comprised the districts of Moray and Ross. His feast falls on March 8.

St. Duthac is said to have been particularly zealous in administering the Sacrament of Penance. The "*Chronicon Hyense*," drawn up for the monastery of Iona from Irish annals, particularly those of Ulster, commemorates him thus:

1065 Dubthach Albanach, praecepit confessorius Hiberniae et Alban, in Ardmacha quievit.*

Albanicus, or Albanach, as it is here written, refers to Alban, the ancient name for the northern districts of Scotland. The statement that the Saint died at Armagh is not borne out by Scottish traditions. The Breviary of Aberdeen, though it does not actually say that St. Duthac died at Tain, mentions the fact that he was much honoured there, and that his body was found incorrupt seven years after his death, and was translated to a more honourable tomb, miracles being wrought on the occasion.

Another difficulty suggested by the Irish commemoration is that most of the Scottish authorities, such as Bishop Leslie, Camerarius, and others, place the date of this Saint's death

* Reeves, "*Vita S. Columbae*," p. 401.

about 1250.* With regard to this Dr. Reeves remarks: "The date assigned to St. Duthac, like that of many of the Scotch Saints, seems too conjectural, and almost irreconcilable with the circumstances of his early life related in the Breviary of Aberdeen." After quoting the passage which narrates his sojourn in Ireland for the study of Scripture, the learned writer continues: "This would harmonise with Ireland's history in the eleventh century . . . but is hardly consistent with the state of the country *circ.* 1220."†

It is, moreover, to be borne in mind that the Irish authority is at least three centuries earlier than the Scottish writers quoted, who seem to have relied chiefly on tradition.

If we may take for granted the truth of the Irish account as to the Saint's death in Armagh, the conflicting authorities may be reconciled by supposing the date given by Camerarius and others to have been that of the Saint's translation to Tain. This is, in fact, the view taken by the writer of the article on Tain in the "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland" of 1894. He states that the chapel at Tain was built on the spot "quhair he was borne"—evidently quoting from some old Scottish writer; that the Saint died in Armagh in A.D. 1065, and that his remains were translated to Tain in A.D. 1253.‡ The present writer is unable to verify the statements, as no authorities are mentioned; he has therefore thought it best to give them on their own merits.§

Tain is called in the Celtic tongue *Baile Duich* ("Duthac's Town"). The burgh arms bear the figure of the Saint, with the inscription *Sanctus Duthacus. St. Duthus' Fair, St. Duthus' Cairn*, &c., perpetuate his memory there. || Only ruined walls now remain to tell of the once renowned place of pilgrimage, whither kings, nobles, and people thronged to honour the Saint and invoke his miraculous aid. Kilduich, at the head of Loch Duich, as well as the loch itself, is named after this Saint.

* *Vide* "Bollandists," vol. vii. p. 798.

† "Vita S. Columbae," p. 401.

‡ "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland," Mackenzie, Glasgow.

§ A friend of the writer's has suggested another clue to the difficulty. *Ardmanach* was the name by which part of Ross-shire, contiguous to Tain, was formerly known; the *Ardmacha* of the Ulster annals may be a corruption of this.

|| "New Statis. Acct. Scot., Ross," p. 287.

Kilduthie, near Loch of Leys, Kincardineshire, and Arduthie, in the same county, are other dedications to him.

Among the relics treasured at Aberdeen Cathedral were portions of the body of St. Duthac. There appears to have been a bell of the Saint at Tain, for in the treasurer's accounts relating to one of the three pilgrimages * made by James IV., the following entry occurs under A.D. 1505 :

Item, in Tain to the man that beris Sanct Duthois bell iiii s.

Much the same difficulty with regard to date occurs in the history of the next Saint. No lessons are furnished for the office of ST. BEAN in the Breviary of Aberdeen. His feast is probably inserted on account of the tradition which makes him first Bishop of Mortlach, a See said to have been later translated to Aberdeen. As to the foundation of Mortlach, however, various accounts are given, and some modern Protestant writers deny the existence of such a See.† Robertson is of opinion that St. Bean resided at Mortlach, but that no formal See was instituted there,‡ and this is the view to which the Bollandists incline.§ St. Bean died on October 26 towards the latter part of the eleventh century.

A curious mistake has been perpetuated in the Roman Martyrology with reference to this Saint. Some confusion had arisen as to an Irish bishop of the same name, honoured on December 16, and the two came to be regarded as one and the same person. This led to an entry in the "Usuard" of Molanus on that date :

In Hybernia Beani episcopi primi Aberdonensis.

Baronius, in drawing up the Roman Martyrology, adopted the opinion of Molanus, but altered somewhat the wording. The commemoration consequently appears now in the following extraordinary guise :

Aberdone in Hibernia sancti Beani Episcopi.

* James IV.'s pilgrimages were conducted on a large scale. In the Treasurer's account for 1505 occurs : " Item, the xx day of October, in the Chanonry of Ross, to John Goldsmyth for tursing [carrying] the organs to Tayne and hame again iiii lib."

† Burton, "Hist. Scot." vol. i. p. 367 (note).

‡ "Scotland under Early Kings," vol. i. p. 99.

§ "Acta SS. vol. lxx. p. 1034.

St. Bean is patron of Mortlach, Banffshire, previously dedicated to St. Moluag, where he is said to have ruled a monastery of Culdees. Near that place is Balvanie, called in the Celtic tongue *Bal-beni-mor* ("dwelling of Bean the great"). Fowlis Wester and Kinkell, both in Perthshire, are dedicated to him. A fair is held at the former place on November 6, which corresponds to October 26, old style. A well there bears his name.

In the old church at Mortlach, according to Keith,* there was an ancient effigy cut in stone supposed to represent St. Bean; it could be seen in the time of that author, who died in A.D. 1757.

Last in order of these Saints comes ST. MAGNUS, the martyr of the Orkneys. He was the son of the Earl of Orkney, Erlend, and from his childhood was conspicuous for his uprightness of life. Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, having taken Erlend prisoner and seized his possessions, carried off the young Magnus to serve as his attendant. It is related of the youth, that refusing to take part in an unjust attack made by Barefoot upon the English Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury, near Anglesey, he was forced to remain a witness of the fight, but was miraculously preserved from injury, as he stood praying on the deck of the Norwegian vessel. After the King's death Magnus obtained possession once more of his estates, but had to encounter another opponent in the person of Haco, his cousin, who wished to seize them for himself. Magnus, to avoid bloodshed, proposed an amicable conference in the little island of Egilshay; but Haco treacherously brought with him a considerable number of armed men, and Magnus, foreseeing his end, prepared for the certain death which awaited him by a night of prayer in the church, followed by the hearing of Mass and reception of the Sacraments. He was barbarously attacked and put to death at the appearance of daylight, and met his end with Christian fortitude.

The body of the murdered man was buried in Egilshay, and then in Christ Church, Birsá, by his mother, Thora; finally his remains were translated to Kirkwall, after the sanctity of Magnus had been proved by many miracles wrought at his

* Russel's "Keith's Scottish Bishops," p. 102.

tomb ; and a magnificent church, afterwards the cathedral of Orkney, was built to contain them by his nephew, Earl Ronald. St. Magnus died April 16, A.D. 1116.*

Besides Kirkwall Cathedral, which is dedicated to him, St. Magnus Bay, on the west of Shetland, perpetuates his memory.

Such are the Saints whom the Church has restored to Scotland. Their history has necessarily been much curtailed in these pages, for fear of encroaching too much on valuable space and on the reader's patience ; but regarding many of them a great deal more might have been added. May these imperfect notes serve to make them more widely known and honoured.

MICHAEL BARRETT, O.S.B.

* Metcalfe, "Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints," p. 352.

ART. VII.—THE SUCCESSION OF THE EARLY ROMAN BISHOPS—II.

IN the previous article we set before the reader the results which Lightfoot, Harnack, and F. S.* have arrived at in their inquiries respecting the traditional order of the names of the early Roman bishops. All three are agreed that "the tradition itself is not confused," that the original order of the names was Linus first, Cletus or Anencletus next, then Clement, and that all variations on this order are "the product of invention or blundering," as, for example, when two persons are made out of Cletus and Anencletus, or when Clement is put in the first place. We then called attention to some points about which these writers are not agreed. These were :

(1) The antiquity of the tradition of the "twenty-five years of Peter."

(2) The date originally assigned to the martyrdom of St. Peter.

(3) The significance of a conspicuous point of difference in the early papal lists. While according to some the succession of bishops is headed by the joint names of SS. Peter and Paul, in others the name of St. Paul is omitted.

(4) The historical worth of the papal list ; or, in other words, were Linus, Cletus, Clement, Evarestus really bishops in the sense of monarchical rulers ?

We propose in the following pages to offer a few remarks on the first three of these questions, taking them in the order in which they have just been stated.

The Antiquity of the "Twenty-five Years."—The date of the Passion according to the calculations of the earliest Christian chronologists was A.D. 29 ; some, however, preferred A.D. 30. There was an ancient tradition—which, it may be remarked in passing, is now beginning to be spoken of with some respect—that the Apostles had received a command from Christ to remain in Judæa for twelve years before going forth to the

* The writer of a treatise entitled "De Successione Priorum Romanorum Pontificum." Romæ. 1898.

world. According to Eusebius St. Peter came to Rome in the year A.D. 42. There is little doubt that (1) Eusebius derived this statement from his predecessor Julius Africanus, and that (2) the year 42 was originally obtained by adding twelve to the supposed date of the Passion, $30 + 12 = 42$. The assumption made in this calculation was, of course, that St. Peter at the time of the *Division of the Apostles* went at once to Rome.

Julius Africanus, who was very far from being the earliest Christian chronologist, carries us back to A.D. 221. There are no grounds for supposing that the "Twenty-five Years" originated with him, but rather the contrary. It was probably part of a regular chronological tradition which he inherited, and would have been derived by him from some catalogue of Roman bishops or Chronicle.

It may be assumed then with very tolerable security that the tradition which the Twenty-five Years represents was in vogue before the close of the second century, or at all events quite at the beginning of the third.*

The tradition of the twelve years during which the Apostles remained together in the Holy Land can be traced back to the beginning of the second century. It is found among other places in a fragment of the lost "Preaching of Peter" (c. A.D. 125). It is unlikely that this tradition should have been silent about St. Peter's destination at the close of the twelve years, and it is also unlikely that all memory of where this destination was should have been suppressed in favour of Rome. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the tradition of the "Twenty-five Years," so far as regards the early date which it assigns to St. Peter's departure for Rome, is part and parcel of the "Twelve Years" tradition.

(2) The date originally assigned to the martyrdom of St. Peter.

In the year A.D. 64 a great part of the city of Rome was destroyed by fire. Nero was suspected of being the author of the conflagration, and in order to divert suspicion from himself he tried to fasten the guilt on the Christians. Great numbers of them were in consequence arrested and put to death.

* We have discussed this question more fully in the pages of this REVIEW, in an article entitled "The Twenty-five Years of Peter," April 1897.

Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames and burnt, to serve as a nightly illumination when daylight had expired. Nero offered his gardens for the spectacle. . . .*

It is often supposed that St. Peter was among the first victims of the Neronian persecution, and the place where he was buried is thought to confirm this view.

Gaius the Roman [c. A.D. 200-220] tells us, that whereas Peter was buried in the Vatican, Paul found his resting place on the Ostian Way. The Vatican gardens were the scene of the hideous festivities in which the victims of the fire suffered, and among these (we may assume) was St. Peter (A.D. 64).†

The year 64 does not, however, seem to have been the traditionary date of St. Peter's martyrdom. Had it been so, the years of his sojourn at Rome would have been computed as twenty-two or twenty-three, assuming of course that the date of his arrival had been fixed by adding twelve to the received date of the Passion, viz., $64 - (29 + 12) = 23$; or $64 - (30 + 12) = 22$. There was nothing special about the number twenty-five to tempt a chonicleer to make room for it by post-dating the apostle's martyrdom.

The date of the martyrdom given in the ancient Roman Catalogue of popes‡ preserved by Epiphanius, which is probably our most ancient authority, is the twelfth year of Nero:

. . . after the death of Linus and Cletus when they had held the episcopate twelve years each after the death of SS. Peter and Paul which happened in the twelfth year of Nero.

This year would probably be A.D. 66, or perhaps A.D. 67.

The year 64, then, was not the traditionary date of St. Peter's martyrdom, so far as can be determined, and, on this point, tradition is confirmed by the internal evidence of 1 Peter. The probable account of the Neronian persecution is, that it was inaugurated at Rome by the massacre of 64, and afterwards spread to the provinces, either in consequence

* Tacitus, "Annals," xv. 44.

† Lightfoot, "St. Clem." vol. ii. p. 497.

‡ For an account of this catalogue *v.* DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1898, p. 278 ff.

of formal enactments, or because the provincial governors took their cue from what was done at Rome. When 1 Peter was written the persecution had extended to the provinces to which this Epistle was sent, and the news of its doing so had travelled back to Rome.

No great stress can be laid on the fact that St. Peter was buried in the Vatican. It may have been a mere coincidence; or it may have been that a suitable place of sepulture had been found for the martyrs of 64 near the scene of their sufferings. This would be the beginning of a Christian cemetery in which others, when their turn came, would also be laid to rest.

(3) The Roman episcopal succession is sometimes traced back to SS. Peter and Paul, and sometimes to St. Peter alone. How is this difference to be accounted for?

To this question we give a fourfold answer:

First we distinguish what may be called the "Complimentary Usage." When the Roman Church is being eulogised, and her glories set forth, she is the Church of SS. Peter and Paul.

Next there is what may be called the "Historico-Controversial Usage." When the Roman Church or her bishops are appealed to as *witnesses* to what the Apostolic Tradition or Rule of Faith really was, she is the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, and her episcopal succession is derived from them—the two Apostles from whom she drew her Faith.

Thirdly, we have the "Chronological Usage." When a writer is concerned with the date of the foundation of the Roman Church, St. Peter with his Twenty-five Years stands at the head of her list of bishops.

Finally, there is what for lack of a better term we must call the "Hierarchical Usage." A Roman bishop as such, exercising authority—whether papal or episcopal—giving judgment on or deciding some question, is the successor of St. Peter, and his Chair is the Chair of Peter.

We proceed to illustrate these different usages.

(a) The Complimentary Usage. St. Ignatius (c. A.D. 110) on his way to martyrdom wrote an Epistle to the Roman Church which is couched in terms of the highest praise and respect for those to whom it is addressed. In it he says: "I

do not command you like Peter and Paul." Dionysius of Corinth (*c.* A.D. 170), in a letter thanking the Roman Church for alms sent by her to the confessors, writes:

Herein ye also by such instructions [to us] have united the trees of the Romans and Corinthians planted by Peter and Paul. For they both alike came also to our Corinth and taught us; and both alike came together to Italy, and, having taught there, suffered martyrdom at the same time.

(*b*) The Historico-Controversial Usage, in which the Roman Church or the Roman bishops are appealed to as a depository of apostolic traditions.

Come now thou that wilt exercise thy curiosity to better purpose in the business of thy salvation, go through the Apostolic Churches in which the very seats of the Apostles, at this very day, preside over their own places, in which their own authentic writings are read, speaking with the voice of each and making the face of each present in the eye. Is Achaia near to thee? thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippi, thou hast the Thessalonians. If thou canst travel into Asia thou hast Ephesus. But if thou art near to Italy, thou hast Rome, where we also have an authority close at hand. What an happy Church is that! on which the Apostles poured out all their doctrine with their blood: where Peter had a like Passion with the Lord; where Paul hath for his crown the same death with John; where the apostle John was plunged into the boiling oil, and suffered nothing and was banished to an island.*

If it is acknowledged that that is more true which is more ancient, that more ancient which is even from the beginning, that from the beginning which is from the Apostles, it will in like manner assuredly be acknowledged that that has been derived by tradition from the Apostles which has been preserved inviolate in the churches of the Apostles. Let us see what milk the Corinthians drank from Paul; to what rule the Galatians were recalled by his reproofs; what is read by the Philippians, the Thessalonians, the Ephesians; what is the testimony of the Romans who are nearest to us, to whom Peter and Paul left the Gospel, and that sealed by their own blood. We have, moreover, churches founded by John. . . . I say then that among them, and not only among the Apostolic churches, but among all the churches which are united with them in Christian fellowship, that Gospel of Luke which we earnestly defend has been maintained from its first publication.†

Gaius, the Roman presbyter, who "lived under Zephyrinus,

* Tertullian, "De Præscriptione," 14.

† Tertul. "Adv. Marcion," quoted from Westcott, "On the Canon," p. 341, fourth edition.

and was a contemporary of Hippolytus (c. A.D. 200–220), if not actually identical with him. Arguing against the Montanists of Asia Minor, who asserted the precedent of Philip's daughters for their special views about prophecy, he claims for his own Church the authority of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, whose martyred bodies repose in Rome":

For I can show you the trophies (relics) of the Apostles. For if thou wilt go to the Vatican or the Ostian Way thou wilt find the trophies of those who founded this Church.*

Four ante-Nicene lists of Popes have in one shape or another come down to us: (1) The list given by Irenæus; (2) the ancient Roman list preserved by Epiphanius; (3) the Eusebian list derived by Eusebius from the chronicle of Julius Africanus; (4) a list taken from the chronicle of Hippolytus.

The first of these four lists was drawn up for controversial purposes. Its object was to exhibit the bishops as links with the past—a past which had not long ceased to be within living memory—and therefore as trustworthy witnesses to what the teaching of the Apostles had really been.

The object of the second list was probably the same, though not enough of the context in which Epiphanius found it is known to enable one to speak with absolute certainty on this point.†

Both these lists start from the joint names of SS. Peter and Paul.

The third and fourth lists bring us to the chronological usage.

(3) The Chronological Usage. The lists of Roman bishops which Julius Africanus and Hippolytus gave in their respective chronicles apparently started from St. Peter and his Twenty-five Years. The interest which these writers had in the Roman succession was a purely chronological one, as the following extract from the Introduction to the "*Liber Generationis*" (a Latin version of the "*Chronicle of Hippolytus*")‡ will show:

* Lightfoot, "*St. Clem.*" vol. ii. p. 496.

† Unless we accept Lightfoot's identification of it with the list drawn up by Hegesippus, in which case its object was to all intents and purposes the same as that of the Irenæan list.

‡ v. Lightfoot, "*St. Clem.*" vol. i. p. 258.

Regis Persarum a Cyro . . . : Regis Macedonum ab Alexandro . . . :
Imperatores Romanorum ab Augusto . . . : Tempora Olympiadum . . . :
. . . Nomina Regum Hebraeorum . . . : Nomina Sacerdotum : Nomina
Episcoporum Romae et quis quot annis prae fuit.

We may quote here some passages in which the name of a Roman bishop is used as a chronological landmark :

(1) They [the Theodotians] assert . . . that the truth of the Gospel was preserved until the time of Victor, who was the *thirteenth bishop of Rome from Peter*.*

(2) Cerdon . . . having come to Rome in the time of Hyginus, who held the ninth place in the episcopal succession from the Apostles, *ἐνατον κλῆρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχοντας*.†

(3) Cerdon, who preceded Marcion and flourished under Hyginus, who was the *ninth bishop*.‡

(4) Marcion Ponticus de Ponto . . . *cujus magister Cerdon sub Hygino tunc episcopo qui in Urbe novus fuit Romani venit*.§

The second and third of these passages are well worthy of notice. If Hyginus was the ninth bishop St. Peter was reckoned as the first. If Linus was the first, Hyginus was the eighth. Apparently, therefore, when St. Irenæus was not using the Roman succession for controversial purposes, he regarded St. Peter alone, not SS. Peter and Paul, as standing at its head. Moreover, the portion of St. Irenæus's first book in which the second passage occurs (I. 23, 1-27, 4) is thought by many critics to be derived from the lost treatise of Justin Martyr, "Against Heresies" (c. A.D. 150), or some other previous document. ||

It is true that when Irenæus speaks of Hyginus as having the ninth place from the Apostles, he might well be supposed to reckon SS. Peter and Paul together as having the first place. But this will not hold good when he speaks of Hyginus simply as the ninth bishop. On both occasions we may assume that he is having recourse to the same document. The question then is on which occasion did he quote it more accurately? Our own belief is that he was more likely to add than to

* A writer of the third century, probably Hippolytus, quoted by Eusebius, "H. E." v. 28.

† "Irenæus," i. 24.

‡ *Ibid.* iii. 4.

§ "St. Cyprian," Ep. 78.

|| On this point v. Helgenfeld's "Ketzergeschichte," pp. 5 ff.

suppress "from the Apostles," because (1) he shows himself fond of this expression in his list of the bishops, because (2) on one occasion, at all events, he uses the plural "Apostles" rather loosely. He speaks of Polycarp being constituted by *the Apostles* Bishop of Smyrna. It is not likely that when Polycarp became Bishop of Smyrna any of the Apostles, except St. John, was still alive.

Harnack and others think that for "ninth" we should read "eighth," and that the change was made to provide for St. Peter's Roman episcopate. But the only grounds for this emendation are: (1) the assumption that it is an anachronism to imagine that Irenæus could have regarded St. Peter as first bishop of Rome; (2) that it is unlikely that Irenæus should, in his catalogue, have spoken (as he does equivalently) of Hyginus as the eighth bishop from the Apostles and elsewhere as the ninth bishop. For our own part we doubt very much whether it is likely that a copyist would have troubled himself over such a minute point.

(4) The Hierarchical Usage, according to which the Roman bishops were possessed of authority on the express ground that they occupied the Chair of Peter, or were the successors of Peter, does not become unmistakably clear till long after it had been anticipated by what we have called the Chronological Usage. No proof is needed that it prevailed in the time of St. Cyprian. To what extent it was distinctly formulated in the edict of Calixtus, admitting sinners of a certain class to penance, cannot be made out for certain from Tertullian's invective against that pope. If the "*De Aleatoribus*" is rightly attributed to Victor, we have it equivalently at a still earlier date. But, be this as it may, its late appearance—even if it is not due to chance which has spared some records and not others—need hardly surprise us. The controversies of one age are not the controversies of another. The fundamental questions raised by the Gnostics in the second century were best answered by the interrogation, *Who are likely to know?* This was how St. Irenæus answered them. The knotty and perplexed questions which arose in a later age could only be met by the counter question, *Who has a right to decide?*

We will ask the reader's indulgence for a few further

observations on the exact scope and purpose of the Irenæan list.

St. Irenæus lays down in the first chapter of his third book that our only knowledge of the dispensation of our salvation comes from the Apostles; they taught and consigned their teaching to writing in the Gospels. He then gives an account of the origin of each Gospel, carefully noting that "Mark was the disciple and interpreter of Peter," and "Luke the follower of Paul." The Gospels are quite clear on the points at issue between the Faithful and the Gnostics: they lay down that "there is *one God* preached in the Law and the Prophets, and *one Christ* the Son of God." In order to understand Irenæus's method of conducting his argument we must keep before us the simple and fundamental character of the doctrines which the Gnostics attacked.

In the second chapter he complains that the heretics when confuted from the Scriptures

turn round and accuse the same Scriptures as if they were not correct, nor of authority, and [assert] that they are ambiguous, and that the truth cannot be extracted from them by those who are ignorant of *tradition*. For [they allege] that the truth was not delivered by means of written documents, but *vivâ voce*. Wherefore Paul declared, "But we speak wisdom among those that are perfect, but not the wisdom of this world. . . ." But when [continues Irenæus] we challenge them to that tradition which is from the Apostles, which by the successions of Presbyters is guarded in the Churches, they oppose tradition saying that they themselves are wiser, not merely than the Presbyters, but even than the Apostles, because they have discovered the unadulterated truth. For the Apostles intermingled the things of the law with the words of the Saviour; and not only the Apostles but even the Lord Himself *modo quidem Demiurgo, modo autem a medietate, interdum autem a summitate fecisse sermones*.

Now observe, the Heretics first appealed to Tradition, and this Tradition they seem to have implied, by their reference to St. Paul, was an esoteric one. When confronted with the Tradition from the Apostles, guarded by the successions of Presbyters, the Heretics do not seem to have seriously accused the Presbyters of corrupting the Tradition, but straightway impugned the authority of the Apostles. In other words they attacked the Tradition not in its channels but at its fountain-head.

In the third chapter St. Irenæus deals with the controversy in its earlier stage when the appeal of the Heretics is to tradition :

The tradition then of the Apostles, made manifest to the whole world, all who wish to see the truth may see in every Church ; and we are able to recount those who were instituted by the Apostles as Bishops in the Churches, and their successors down to us, who taught or knew nothing of what these men rave of.

Then follows a sort of parenthesis in which, obviously alluding to the use made by the Heretics of the text of St. Paul, "We speak wisdom among those that are perfect," he continues :

If the Apostles had known any hidden mysteries, which apart and secretly from the rest they taught to the perfect, they would above all deliver them to those to whom they committed also the Churches. For very *perfect* and blameless in all things did they wish those to be whom they left as their successors.

He then continues :

But since it were very long in this space to enumerate the successions of all Churches, we will, by setting forth the Tradition and the Faith preached to men, which that very great and ancient Church, well known to all, founded and established at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, hath from the Apostles coming down even to us by succession of Bishops, put to shame all those who . . . make unlawful conventicles.

Then comes the much controverted passage, "*Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiores principalitatem,*" &c., which, guided by the context, we will render thus :

For with this Church because of her higher rank [or pre-eminence] every Church—that is the faithful who are on all sides—of course agrees ; [every Church I say] in which the Tradition from the Apostles has always been preserved by those who are on all sides [*i.e.*, the above-named faithful.]*

He then gives a list of the Roman bishops, dwelling especially on St. Clement and his Epistle to the Corinthians. Not for

* This passage is only preserved in the Latin version. It runs as follows : *Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiores principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ea quae est ab Apostolis traditio.*

an instant forgetting the elementary character of the doctrines which the Gnostics assailed, and keeping in mind, what he had just said, that the testimony of the Roman Church was the united testimony of all the churches, he refers to this Epistle to show that, at the time when it was written, all the churches taught that there was one God who created Heaven and Earth, the God of the Old Testament and the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ. From the Church of Rome he turns to the Church of Symrna and St. Polycarp, and then to the Church founded by St. Paul at Ephesus where St. John lived on up to the time of Trajan.

We have set forth the context in which St. Irenæus's appeal to the Roman Church is found, in order to justify the position we have assigned to it, as illustrating what we have termed the Historico-Controversial Usage. With all deference to those who think otherwise, we fail to see how it can be maintained that Irenæus is appealing to a Magisterium, or to any right to decide upon disputed points, possessed by the Roman Church. Authority is not invoked to decide upon matters the truth concerning which is manifest to all. The primacy of the Roman Church is for St. Irenæus's purpose the token that all the churches are agreed with her. It is not the reason why they are unanimous with her in testifying that the Apostles taught that there was one God who created all things, gave the law to Moses, sent the Prophets, and one Christ His Son.

FRANCIS BACCHUS.

ART. VIII.—DR. FAIRBAIRN ON “CATHOLICISM.”

Catholicism: Roman and Anglican. By A. M. FAIRBAIRN, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. 1899.

THE growth of periodical literature in recent times has resulted in the evolution of books which may be reckoned as a new species. Though earlier examples are not wanting, the Edinburgh Reviewers may be fairly said to have set the fashion when they took to publishing collections of their more important articles. Macaulay was long reluctant to adopt this course, and only yielded when his hands were forced by the enterprise of American publishers. But the practice of republication is now thoroughly established, though it has gradually undergone some important, but scarcely perceptible, changes. The distinctive note is a tendency to greater unity. Articles shape themselves with a view to a future life, and are sometimes but chapters of a book published in serial form. And collections of essays find some semblance of unity in a common subject or a common title. The present volume on “Catholicism,” by Principal Fairbairn, belongs, indeed, to this class, for it is made up of papers contributed on various occasions to the *Contemporary Review* during the past fifteen years. But in one respect, at least, it possesses a great advantage over most of its fellows. For whereas such works often suffer because their subject has become somewhat stale and lost the interest which attached to the original articles, the book before us is singularly happy in the opportunity of its appearance. Whether by accident or design, it comes out at a time when public feeling is excited by a widespread and heated controversy on the subject of that very “Catholicism” which is discussed in its pages.

At first sight, the book may be regarded as a welcome addition to the forces of militant Protestantism, offering them

some of that intellectual light and leading with which they are, as a rule, but ill provided. This natural anticipation is in a measure justified, for the author's judgment on Catholicism, whether Roman or Anglican, is certainly unfavourable. But his candid treatment of his opponents, and the studious moderation of his language, will hardly satisfy some of the more ardent agitators. And if he deals some vigorous blows at the combatants on one side, he teaches their assailants some wholesome lessons. The controversy may not be brought to a satisfactory issue; but, at any rate, it is lifted out of the region of calumny and petty personalities into a purer and serener atmosphere. Take, for instance, the following passage on the Catholic Church:

There is no desire to question the efficiency and historical achievements of the Roman Church. It is to us no creation of craft or subtlety, human or diabolical, no Man of Sin, Scarlet Woman, or shameless Antichrist, but a veritable creature of God and manifest minister of His providence (p. 190).

Elsewhere, again, Dr. Fairbairn makes a similar disclaimer when he is dealing with the Church of England:

This is not to be construed as a word of reproach against the English Church as a Church. The writer feels that there is nothing less noble or more despicable than the mutual reproaches of religious men and societies, or the memory too mindful of past faults, and too forgetful of present duties, especially those of charity and truth (p. 343).

And on an earlier page he says very forcibly:

It is a blunder of the worst kind to imagine that any one form of Christianity can be served by any other being made ridiculous. It belongs to the madness of the sectary, whether Catholic or anti-Catholic, to believe that his own system grows more sane as others are made to seem less rational (p. 80).

It too often happens that the liberality of a candid historian or controversialist begins and ends with these charitable professions. But Dr. Fairbairn's practice does not belie his principles. For this eloquent opponent of Sacerdotalism pays a tribute to the religious earnestness and missionary labours of Ritualists. He cordially recognises the good work done in philosophy and apologetics by converts to Catholicism like the
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late Dr. Ward, Fr. Harper, and Fr. Dalgairns—"a thinker of exquisite subtlety and refinement"—and he can spare a word of praise for English Catholics of an earlier generation :

The saintly Challoner and the brave Milner had quickened Catholic religious zeal ; Lingard, with notable erudition and independence, had made English history its apology ; and Cardinal Wiseman improved the new day that had dawned by an apologetic of rare skill and eloquence (p. 78).

But this refreshing freedom from bigotry is by no means the only merit of Dr. Fairbairn's volume. The literary workmanship throughout is of a high order. The style is clear and pleasing, and there are some passages of considerable power. Curiously enough, some of the most eloquent pages in the book are those in which the author presents the case of his Catholic opponents, and tells how strongly the great Roman Church appeals to the reason and the imagination. Readers of "Loss and Gain" may remember how Campbell's admissions haunt the memory of Reding and prove far more effective than his Protestant arguments. And there is at least one remarkable passage in the book before us which may well have the same happy result in the case of some of its readers. Unfortunately it is too long to be quoted in its entirety, and it is too good for curtailment.

Some of Dr. Fairbairn's criticism is delicate and discriminating. He can set forth the merits of a book in a few well-chosen words, and his pages are often enlivened by singularly felicitous phrases. Thus, the High Church party in the days before the Oxford Movement is likened to "an ancient dame whose pride is sustained by inveterate prejudices and the recollection of conquests in a time too remote to be pleasantly remembered." The Whigs of the same period are described as having "ample opportunity to gratify their traditional disbelief in Church claims and their hereditary love of Church lands, especially as a means of creating a patriotic aristocracy" (p. 288). We are told that Mark Pattison "had a horror of the mental habits, the formal drill, and shallow omniscience created by examinations" (p. 465). Dean Stanley "was a charming irenical personality, fertile of schemes for reconciling our divided religious society" (p. 323). And in his apprecia-

tive account of the Cambridge scholars, the author says of Bishop Westcott: "His mind can hardly be called pellucid; he loves the twilight which subdues the stronger colours and softens the harsher or more rigid outlines" (p. 401). And elsewhere he says of Mr. Balfour's "Foundations of Belief":

The book indeed is redeemed by its digressions; without them it would have seemed a mere exercise in cunning sword-play, but with them it has all the appearance of an army of victorious arguments marching into the battle (p. 384).

After giving a lively picture of the independence enjoyed by the Ritualist clergy, and the difficulties of an episcopate hampered by the action of the secular Courts, Dr. Fairbairn adds: "And as if out of sheer love of an ironical situation, those of the clergy who have most pleaded for an apostolical episcopate as the condition of Catholic unity, defer least to the episcopal voice." And he cites in illustration some remarkable language used by "an Anglo-Catholic priest, typical in his devotion, in his piety, in his self-denial and self-assertion" (p. xxi.).

In spite of the various origins of these reviews and articles, most readers will be inclined to admit the justice of the author's opening words: "The studies collected in this volume may fairly claim to be neither sporadic nor occasional essays, but chapters of a coherent and progressive work." For with all its varied contents the book has still one central subject which gives it a real unity—that great religious revival which is known as the Oxford Movement. It is true that much of the opening essay on "The Churches and the Ideal of Religion" does not strictly belong to this subject; yet it can scarcely be regarded as simply extraneous matter. For it serves the purpose of showing the author's own doctrinal standpoint, and supplies the standard by which he judges of "Catholicism," whether Roman or Anglican. And even the three closing studies on "The Foundations of Belief," "Some Recent English Theologians," and "Oxford and Jowett," are closely connected with the main motive of the volume. For Mr. Balfour's book has a distinct bearing on the questions raised in the discussion of Cardinal Newman's philosophy. And the estimable English scholars who pass before us in the

later pages have, in most cases, felt something of the inspiring influence which went out from the Tractarian leaders.

Notwithstanding this unity of subject, the book suffers somewhat from the want of a corresponding unity of structure, and the separate origin of its component parts is a frequent source of repetition. A monograph on the Oxford Movement might very well have been divided into much the same main sections as those of the present volume—now a chapter on Newman's teaching, now a picture of Manning's labours, and now an account of the later phases of the movement in the Church of England. But it would not have been necessary to tell the story of the original revival afresh in each instance, which was the course naturally adopted by Dr. Fairbairn in composing his essays on Newman's philosophy, and his reviews of "Lux Mundi" and of Purcell's "Life of Manning." And all these several versions are repeated in the book before us. It is true they are not identical, and each one of them is well worth reading. Still, it could be wished that the author had been able to fuse them together in one more perfect picture, and give it once for all in his opening pages.

The author tells us in his introduction that the various papers here collected have all been "carefully revised." But it is a pity that some of them, at least, did not undergo a further and more searching revision before being reprinted in the present volume. This is especially the case with the trenchant critique on Purcell's "Life of Cardinal Manning." Since its first appearance in the pages of the *Contemporary Review*, fresh facts and documents have been brought to light in the recently published biography of Cardinal Wiseman. And it argues a strange neglect on the part of Dr. Fairbairn—a lack, we might add, of that historic spirit which he so greatly desiderates in others—that he has not used these materials in revising his original judgment on the life of Manning. If he had considered the documents published by Mr. Ward he would surely have been able to modify some of his language on the Errington episode. And if we can hardly expect much change on matters of opinion, it is otherwise when fresh evidence is forthcoming on a plain question of fact. Yet we find Dr. Fairbairn citing, without a word of correction, the unfortunate legend regarding Manning's letters to Mr. Glad-

stone. "These letters of his were returned to him, and 'had, so far as could be ascertained, been destroyed by the Cardinal not long before his death'" (p. 250). And on another page Dr. Fairbairn tells us that "some of Manning's most characteristic letters, written at the crisis of his career, perished under his own hand" (p. 243). The preservation of these valuable letters from Manning to Gladstone has now been made public for some time. It is duly recorded by Mr. Ward in his "Life of Wiseman"; and it was mentioned, if we mistake not, at an earlier date by a writer in the *Nineteenth Century*. But the news, it would seem, has not yet reached Dr. Fairbairn.

Having called the reader's attention to this unfortunate inaccuracy, we need not linger any further on this part of Dr. Fairbairn's volume. Our views on the subject of Cardinal Manning's life have already been expressed at some length in these pages, and there is no reason for going over the same ground again on the present occasion. Nor, again, need we attempt any detailed defence of Cardinal Newman's philosophy. The best answer to the charge of philosophical scepticism is to be found in the master's own writings, which are easily accessible, and stand in no need of interpreters or defenders. We shall only touch on the subject so far as it is necessary in order to judge of our author's reading of the Catholic revival and its causes.

As may be gathered from what has been said already, Dr. Fairbairn's attitude towards the Oxford Movement differs considerably from that of sympathetic historians like the late Dean Church or Mr. Wilfrid Ward. On the other hand, it is very far removed from that of the ingenious gentleman who has recently undertaken to tell the "secret history" of the movement. At first, it would seem, this Scottish divine felt himself drawn towards the Oxford leaders, whose religious earnestness and dauntless courage reminded him of the Fathers of his own Church. As he tells us himself:

The heroes of his boyish dreams were saints, and the saints heroes who had, by being faithful unto death, consecrated the hills and moorlands he loves. And the Churchmen he had been taught to honour were not those who walked in prosperous places and lived in comfort with well-trained and conformable consciences, but those who had been too rigorous and veracious of soul to profess a belief that they did not hold. And

when in comparative youth he came upon Newman's "Apologia," it seemed as if he had come upon a man of the ancient heroic strain (p. xiv).

But when he came, as he thought, to know the Tractarians better, and especially when he considered their own intolerant attitude towards the aforesaid saints and heroes, Dr. Fairbairn suffered a sad disillusionment. And he further found, or fancied that he found, much in the practice of the Tract writers which "men they insolently assailed or despised would have scorned to do." Thus he found himself confronted by a moral and philosophical problem, and was led to inquire further into the meaning and motives of the movement which had thus alternately attracted and repelled him. And the result of these researches is seen in the book before us. It is only natural that one in the author's position should have undergone this revulsion of feeling; but if he had carried his original comparison a little further, he might surely have found something in the history of his own Protestant heroes to mitigate his severity towards the intolerance of the Tractarians. And a deeper knowledge of the subject might have softened his censure on their "reserve" and "economies."

But Dr. Fairbairn's unfavourable judgment on the movement does not depend so much on these real or imaginary failings of its authors, as on their intellectual limitations, and their narrow and inadequate philosophy of religion. Such, if we mistake not, is his final judgment on the matter, a judgment which is partly due to his doctrinal system, partly the result of a mistaken and imperfect conception of the religious revival itself and of the Catholicism towards which it tended.

The book bears upon it so many tokens of a large and liberal spirit, the thoughts of the author take so wide a range, and he indulges in so many righteous rebukes to sectarian narrowness, that it may seem strange to suggest that his own views are somewhat straitened. Yet this is the conviction borne in upon us, when we consider his account of the movement and his conception of Catholicism. He rightly recognises that what is known as the Oxford Movement was no isolated phenomenon, but was rather one of the waves in a larger religious revival, which affected the European Continent in many quarters. And he naturally calls attention to the close

connection between this reawakening and the corresponding changes in continental or English politics. In the one case it was largely a reaction against the French Revolution, while in England the movement was first called forth by the aggressive action of the Reform Government. In its literary aspect the continental revival shows itself in the works of Chateaubriand and the German Romantic School; and these find an English echo in the poems and novels of the Border Minstrel. The religious and political philosophy is seen, on the one hand, in De Maistre's powerful plea for Papal authority; and, on the other hand, in the Tractarian exaltation of the episcopate. And, inquiring further into the origin of this common cry for an authoritative teacher, Dr. Fairbairn shows us its ultimate source in a philosophic scepticism, or despair of the reason, which he finds in various forms in the writings of Newman on the one hand, and De Lamennais on the other.

It must in fairness be acknowledged that our author's survey takes in many facts but little known or heeded in England; while his criticisms are often just and discriminating, and show a rare readiness to recognise the merits of a school of thought widely different from his own. But while he appreciates the transcendent genius of the Oxford leader, and sees much that is good in the works of his fellows, his verdict on the whole is clearly unfavourable to the Oxford Movement, to the continental Catholic revival, and to Catholicism itself. If we may venture to state that verdict broadly and in our own words, we gather that the policy of the movement was a vain resistance to the onward march of mankind; its philosophy was a despair of human reason, and its romantic mediævalism was a travesty of history. And the Church, whose interests that revival subserved, is involved in a like condemnation; for the backwardness and poverty of the nations which own her sway present a painful contrast to Protestant progress; her theological science does but faintly echo the music of non-Catholic thought, and she gives us a narrow ecclesiasticism instead of a world-wide religion.

It would carry us too far to attempt anything like a detailed answer to these charges. And we must be content to touch briefly on each of the above main heads. With regard to the question of reaction, it must first be asked whether the forward

movement was something wholly good and commendable. To judge by his own language on the triumph of deism in France, Dr. Fairbairn himself would hardly venture to affirm this. But if the revolutionary movement, however excellent in other respects, contained some elements of evil, some sort of resistance was, surely, needed in order to avert its dangers. At the present day, when the heat of conflict has subsided, and we can judge more dispassionately, some of us are very far from sharing the absolutist views of some of the Catholic champions. And not a few, we fancy, would find themselves unable to echo Cardinal Newman's denunciation of "Liberalism." But may we not regard the strenuous and uncompromising resistance offered by our earlier champions—even when it went too far—as a necessary check to revolutionary excesses and, in Hegelian language, a "moment" in mental and political progress?

Be this as it may, the attitude of the chiefs in the Catholic revival was not wholly one of resistance and reaction to the forward movement. Dr. Fairbairn seems to imply this himself in one place, where he speaks of the awakening as beginning partly in the Revolution, and partly in reaction against it. This subject, which he pursues no further, might be abundantly illustrated from the life of Görres, who began his eventful career as a delegate to the French Revolutionary Government. No one entered more fully into all the varied movements of the century, its scientific and its historic research, its nascent Orientalism, its struggle for freedom, its reawakening in religion. More than any other man he represents the mind of his age; for even Goethe's many-sided genius reflected but little of its political and religious movements. But Görres helped to fan the flame of national patriotism, and more than a generation before Sadowa and Sedan he foreshadowed the future constitution of Germany. And what is more to our present purpose, his later religious career was marked by a gallant struggle against Prussian absolutism. Nowhere has the Catholic revival borne better fruit than in Germany, and here Görres was the natural leader. His name is still a watch-word, and his spirit survives in the *Görres-Gesellschaft*, which is in no wise associated with absolutism in politics, or scepticism in philosophy, or the substitution of romantic fiction for scientific history.

This one instance might suffice to show that there were more things in the revival than are dreamt of in Dr. Fairbairn's philosophy. And this incompleteness of his picture is still further confirmed, when we come to consider his account of the movement in England. It was, indeed, only natural that, here, he should give a large share of his attention to the teaching and writings of Cardinal Newman, the master mind of the Oxford Movement. But while it is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of the part played by the Tractarian leader, the historian should not fail to take due account of other factors. The Cardinal himself has told us, in a well-known passage, that the little band of men who inaugurated the movement came together from many and very various quarters. And the difference in their natural gifts, and in the principles of their early training, might well suggest to a careful historian that the law of their motion would require a somewhat complex calculus, and could scarcely be exhibited in one "personal equation."

When all is said and done, there must still be much in the life and teaching of the leader that is purely personal. And we might as well think of ascribing Newman's natural genius and literary gifts to the main body of converts to the Church, or to the Anglican Ritualists, as we could believe that they were all moved by the same sense of difficulties in the reason, in conflict with the vivid knowledge of God through the conscience. There were some, no doubt, who followed his steps more or less closely; but we venture to say that by far the greater number never felt the same difficulties, and were satisfied with the methods of earlier apologists, and were attracted to Catholicism by its logical consistency, or by the historical argument which he had set forth in such a masterly manner. It is curious to observe that in one passage where he is dealing with "Philosophical Scepticism as the Apology for Ecclesiastical Authority," Dr. Fairbairn has a foot-note explaining that if his subject had been "Apologetics by English Catholics," instead of "English Catholicism as an Apologetic," there are many men he would wish to review, and he pays a graceful tribute to several of our foremost writers (p. 116). But among the names he mentions are some of the leading converts to Catholicism. His recognition of their good service in

religious apologetics is an unconscious testimony to the inadequacy of his own views on the basis of the Oxford Movement.

This objection would remain valid, even if Dr. Fairbairn's account of Cardinal Newman's "philosophical scepticism" were unassailable in itself. But we need hardly remind the reader that this is by no means the case. When the paper first appeared in the pages of the *Contemporary Review*, the Cardinal himself wrote a reply, repudiating Dr. Fairbairn's interpretation of his philosophy.* Dr. Fairbairn in his turn said that he had been misapprehended, and his charge of purely philosophical scepticism had been met by a denial of religious scepticism, whereas he had never dreamt of doubting the sincerity of Newman's belief. The minds of the two men were cast in such a different mould that it is likely enough that there was some misunderstanding on both sides. But in any case, Cardinal Newman distinctly repudiates the critic's account of his philosophy, and he is surely the best judge of his own meaning. And thus we are given as the fundamental motive of resurgent Catholicism, a philosophy which is wrongly ascribed to one of its leaders.

It is true that certain modern religionists have adopted a sceptical philosophy, and, in recoiling from the rationalism of their day, have unfortunately fallen into an opposite error. Such were some of the so-called Traditionalists, who denied that God could be known by the natural light of reason, and ascribed all religious knowledge to authority and tradition. These may fairly be said to have despaired of reason. But this school is no more to be taken as representative of modern Catholicism than is the opposite school of the Ontologists, who exaggerated the knowledge of God, attainable by men's natural powers. Both extremes have been condemned by the Church, which has fully vindicated the office of reason in this matter.

But Cardinal Newman does not come under either of these categories. For the charge of scepticism is based on a misconception, and the difference between him and his critic is largely a question of language. The knowledge of God through conscience is, after all, a knowledge of the reason. For what is conscience itself but *dictamen practicum rationis*? And a

* See the *Contemporary Review*, October 1885.

further act of reason is involved in inferring the existence of a Lawgiver from the voice that speaks His commands. Here we may cite a note appended to the Cardinal's article in the *Contemporary Review*: "I believe that some philosophers, as Kant, speak of the moral sense as a divine reason. Of course I have no difficulty in accepting reason in this sense, but I have not so used it myself" (p. 459).

It is curious to find Dr. Fairbairn comparing Newman very unfavourably with Kant. He tells us, indeed, that the latter philosopher "does not allow that the mere or pure reason, which is equal to the interpretation of nature, is equal to the cognition of God; and he builds, like Newman, his argument for the divine existence on conscience" (p. 139). But he hastens to add that with Kant "conscience is still reason, all the more that it uses the 'categorical imperative,' and his argument, unlike Newman's, is reasoned."* And, again: "Kant's position is the vindication of faith through nature; Newman's is the surrender of nature to unbelief." Verily, the two philosophers are measured by a Lesbian rule. "Kant, indeed, does not allow," is a happy euphemism for those destructive chapters in the "*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*" in which the philosopher seeks to demolish the most important of the other proofs of God's existence. Newman's strongest expressions on the inadequacy of mere reason might well seem mild and merciful compared with Kant's criticism. But here, remembering that Dr. Barry has been warned elsewhere that he "quite misapprehended Kant's position" (p. 227), we hasten to shelter ourselves under a high authority. And we take the following passage from an able article in the *Contemporary Review*:

But by a fatal mistake Kant denied reality to our knowledge of the latter. He said mind could not know the real thing, the *Ding an sich*; all that we knew was the phenomenal. There was thus a disastrous subjectivity in his speculative system; reality was made to belong to the subject, which was confronted by a real world known only as appearance. As a logical consequence thought could not critically, or by the path of pure reason, reach God; a speculative ascent to Him was impossible. For if the thing in itself could not be known, it could say nothing of itself; a world of appearances could never conduct to the ultimate

* What, by the way, is an unreasoned argument?

reality or ground of real being. The utmost speculation could do was to free the idea of God from every empirical or anthropomorphic element, and to show that proof alike of his existence and his non-existence was impossible to human reason.

Of course, the writer goes on to add that Kant's practical philosophy accomplished what his speculative philosophy failed to do. And Dr. Fairbairn, in the passage we have lately quoted, says: "With Kant the practical is not the contradiction of the pure reason; the one is but the supplement of the other." This is certainly a pleasing contrast to the "dualism" discovered in Cardinal Newman. But we turn again to our *Contemporary Reviewer*, and read as follows:

Kant's speculative philosophy was critical; his practical constructive. They faced each other in unreconciled antithesis: what the one had declared inaccessible to thought the other affirmed to be a postulate, a truth or principle necessary to its very being.

And, further on, the same writer says:

Fichte's was a truer, nobler, more consistent theory of religion than Kant's. By simplifying his standpoint he escaped the dualism of the elder thinker, abolished the antithesis that had made the Critical and Practical philosophies live in hostile camps.

And, strange to say, our *Contemporary Reviewer* is no other than Dr. A. M. Fairbairn.*

Cardinal Newman, on the other hand, never denied the validity of the arguments which were so severely criticised by Kant. The most that can be said is that he hardly attaches sufficient importance to the proofs of pure reason, and lays more stress on his own favourite argument from conscience. This was partly because the latter appealed so vividly to his own mind, that it might well seem to supersede the necessity of other arguments. But we may find another reason in the special difficulties of the day, and in the disturbance caused by new philosophies and scientific discoveries, by which, in the eyes of many, the older arguments, if not altogether discredited, were temporarily obscured and weakened.

* See the *Contemporary Review*, April 1882, "The Philosophy of Religion: A History and a Criticism," pp. 588-593.

It may be well to say once more, that on these matters other Catholic philosophers and apologists take a different line. And to some of them Cardinal Newman's language on the difficulties and the dangers of reason would seem somewhat overstrained. But is not Dr. Fairbairn himself far too optimistic on this matter? He tells us that reason has always resulted in good instead of doing harm to religion. And he appeals to the good work done by the great Greek philosophers. But did not that philosophy pass from such teachers as Plato and Aristotle to the sceptical school of Carneades and the New Academy? And it would be easy enough to point to other instances in later times. Thus Dr. Fairbairn speaks elsewhere in glowing terms of the cycle of thinkers "which began with Kant and ended with Hegel." And if we mistake not, he himself owes much to their teaching. But whatever may be said of the comparative greatness of the philosophers, the philosophic movement which Kant inaugurated did not end with Hegel. For a school of religious sceptics came out of the left wing of the Hegelians, and the influence of Kant is felt in the "reasoned pessimism" of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann.*

Coming now to the question of history, we certainly think that Dr. Fairbairn does less than justice to the Romantic writers in general, and to the leaders of the Catholic revival, whether continental or English. In his view the Romantic school sang the praises of a past which had never existed; and the theory of the Tractarians "was the work of men who made an impassioned appeal to history, but were utterly void of the historical spirit" (p. 310). With regard to the Romantic writers, it is doubtless true that their picture of the Middle Ages and other earlier periods was somewhat highly coloured, as was only natural to poets and romancers. And it must not be forgotten that, in addition to the native license of their craft, they were further inspired by a spirit of reaction against a false Classicism, and a generous indignation at the insolent ignorance which despised the Middle Ages. Yet making all due abatement, there still remains a large measure of truth in

* On this latter point see the opening pages of Von Hartmann's "*Zur Geschichte und Begründung des Pessimismus*."

their picture of the past; and some of their writings, even works of avowed fiction, have a very real historical value.

But this is by no means all. A new and deeper sense of the continuity of the present with the past was one of the main factors in the movement. And we venture to say that, for much of the advance that has since been made in critical research and scientific history, we are largely indebted to the leaders in the Catholic revival. Apart from its doctrinal or political significance, the great work of De Maistre was no mean contribution to the philosophy of history. And it exerted considerable influence on Comte, who cites it in many places in his "*Philosophie Positive*." A more important service was rendered to science and history by Friedrich von Schlegel when he published his little book, "*Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*."

This work [says Professor Max Müller] became the foundation of the science of language. Though published only two years after the first volume of Adelung's "*Mithridates*," it is separated from that work by the same distance which separates the Copernican from the Ptolemæan system. Schlegel was not a great scholar. Many of his statements have been proved erroneous; and nothing would be easier than to dissect his essay and hold it up to ridicule. But Schlegel was a man of genius; and when a new science is to be created, the imagination of the poet is wanted even more than the accuracy of the scholar. It surely required somewhat of poetic vision to embrace with *one* glance the languages of India, Persia, Greece, Italy, and Germany, and to rivet them together by the simple name of Indo-Germanic. This was Schlegel's work; and in the history of the intellect it has been truly called the discovery of a new world.

And again: "This work was like the wand of a magician. It pointed out the place where a mine should be opened; and it was not long before some of the most distinguished scholars of the day began to sink their shafts and raise the ore."

We have cited this passage at some length, for this testimony of a scholar like Max Müller is surely significant. And what he here says of Schlegel is true, in a measure, of other leaders in the revival, and of the relation they bear to those later and more advanced scholars who have entered into their labours. It is interesting to observe that, in the same year which saw the publication of this remarkable book on the Indian Language and Philosophy, its author became a Catholic.

* "*Lectures on the Science of Language*," vol. i., lectures 1 and 2.

But it is not only in these first pioneers of the revival that we can trace the working of the historic spirit. Its influence is seen in the learned labours of Döllinger and Hefele, Hergenröther and Pastor, and other true historians who have helped to swell the rich stream of German Catholic literature. And De Maistre has found worthy followers in such men as Ozanam, and Lenormant, and Duchesne. In all that belongs to the true scientific histories, in diligent search for truth, in accuracy and intelligent criticism, and in honesty and impartiality, these men are in no wise inferior to any non-Catholic writers. And, in addition to all this, we may find another sign of the historic factor in the revival, in the conversion to Catholicism of such eminent Protestant historians as Gfrörer and Hugo von Hurter.

Turning once more to the English writers, we find some good historical work done by Froude, and Bowen, and Sir William Palmer in the early days of the movement. And these, again, have been followed by later writers, such as Mr. Allies, and Dom Gasquet, and Mr. Lilly. With regard to the Anglo-Catholic school, Dr. Fairbairn himself allows that it has had, and still has, learned historians and men of fine literary gifts (p. 318). But the movement itself, in his eyes, is evidently unhistorical, and its authors, notably Cardinal Newman, lacked the historical spirit. Here, as in the case of the Cardinal's philosophy, our author's criticism is singularly unfortunate. It is, doubtless, true that the Tractarian leader was not a master of modern scientific methods, or a great historian of the same calibre as some of the German writers we have mentioned. But it is idle to deny that his writings have done much to throw light on the dark pages of the past. His keen insight and imaginative power often enabled him to penetrate to the true meaning of events misread by others, and seize and set forth the living evolution of religious history. This is especially the case with his great work on the "Development of Christian Doctrine," which Dr. Fairbairn finds so destitute of the historic spirit. This is not, as the critic supposes, a merely subjective theory, worked out *à priori*, and decided by arbitrary tests of the writer's own devising. It is true the author modestly puts forward his view as a mere hypothesis. But it is, none the less, based on a close and careful study of the facts, and on a wide

survey of Christian literature. In its essence, if not in its form, it is mainly historical.

Dr. Fairbairn's own treatment of the same subject is professedly historical and scientific. But it is really the outcome of another hypothesis, which rests on a far less stable foundation. It would carry us too far to examine his ingenious theory, that Christianity was originally without priesthood or hierarchy or ritual worship, which are all later importations from Jewish, Pagan, and Platonic sources. Nor can we stay to dwell on the antecedent improbability of any such silent and unconscious revolution of the whole fabric of the Christian religion, while so many minor matters excited widespread and violent controversy. But we may point out that, while the theory of our critical historian is a curious confirmation of his ancestral Presbyterianism, the writer who is accused of interpreting the past by an arbitrary system of his own, came to the study of that history holding quite another doctrine, which melted away before the logic of facts and the witness of the Fathers.

As we have seen, Dr. Fairbairn does not profess to treat of the Catholic Church as a whole, and the "Catholicism" which is here subjected to such searching criticism is really the religious revival known as the Oxford Movement, traced from its continental sources to its final results in the body of English Catholics, or in the later phases of Anglican Ritualism. But it is hardly surprising that he has not been able to keep strictly within these limits, and in more than one passage of his book his words take a wider range, and not merely English Catholics or Anglican Ritualists, but the whole Catholic Church, is the subject of his censure. Thus, we meet once more with the familiar objection drawn from Protestant progress and prosperity, and the comparative backwardness and poverty of Catholic nations. Needless to say, the argument takes a more sober and reasonable shape in Dr. Fairbairn's pages than it does in the hands of rude and ignorant controversialists.

Catholic writers are sometimes disposed to meet the objection with sarcasm and ridicule. And it must be confessed that the "unctuous rectitude" of some prosperous Protestants offers an inviting subject for this contemptuous treatment. But the argument itself is, none the less, a real difficulty and deserves

a serious answer. We cannot forget that, after all, it is no invention of Protestant controversialists. Cardinal Bellarmine's fifteenth and final note of the true Church is "*Felicitas temporalis, divinitus iis collata, qui Ecclesiam defenderunt.*"* And heretics and schismatics are triumphantly refuted by the prosperity and miraculous victories of Catholic princes. The power of the Greek Emperors, we are told, steadily declined after their rupture with Rome, and finally disappeared altogether. And the Western Emperors always flourished more or less according to their greater or less devotion to the Roman Church. With these pages before us, we can hardly afford to laugh at Protestants for using what is, in substance, the same argument, when the facts seem to tell in their favour.

There is, doubtless, some danger of pressing the point too far, if we fail to make due allowance for the operation of other causes, or for the existence of exceptional cases, which, here as elsewhere, can scarcely be wanting. But it seems only reasonable to expect that the presence of the true Church should naturally tend to make men better citizens, and thus promote national prosperity, while the prayers of her ministers should draw down blessings on prince and people. And this anticipation is certainly fulfilled in a large measure in early and mediæval history.

The benefits which the Church has conferred on civil society are frankly acknowledged by philosophical Protestants like Herder. And among Catholic writers the subject has been admirably treated by the great Spanish philosopher, Don Jaime Balmes, in his "*El Protestantismo Comparado con el Catholicismo en sus Relaciones con la Civilizacion Europea.*" In more recent years, a work on somewhat similar lines by a French publicist, Baron de Haulleville, was translated and adapted for English readers by Sir Henry Bellingham.†

These authors, at any rate, do not shrink from carrying the comparison into those last three centuries of European history which Dr. Fairbairn finds so favourable to the non-Catholic

* Tom. ii. contr. i. lib. iv. c. 18.

† "Social Aspects of Catholicism and Protestantism in their Civil Bearing upon Nations." Translated and adapted from the French of M. le Baron de Haulleville. By Henry Bellingham, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. With a Preface by His Eminence Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster." 1878. The work of Balmes has also appeared in English and in many other languages.

nations. And in truth there is no need to fear it. For the difficulty, which at first seems so plausible, will speedily disappear when we come to consider the facts more closely. We may find that in many cases the decay and backwardness of Catholic lands has been too darkly painted by racial or religious prejudice; while in other instances the Church has been hampered in her ministry by the persecuting policy of States, nominally Catholic, or Protestant, or infidel.

But the fundamental error in the argument of our opponents consists in treating the far-reaching changes wrought in Europe three centuries since as one simple fact, to wit, the transition of certain nations from one form of religion to another. The Reformation is thus regarded simply as a cause; whereas it was itself but one of the effects of a complex series of causes, social, political, and religious, which were also operating in various other directions. The discovery of a new world in the West; the renascence of ancient learning; the break up of the feudal system, and the transition from mediæval monarchy to absolutism, with its natural democratic reaction; the rise of the House of Austria, and the new combinations formed to check its growing power; and the revolution in the arts of war and peace produced by the invention of printing and gunpowder—these and other factors were enough to change the face of Europe, even if the rupture in religion had been delayed or averted. And it was only natural that the new era that was dawning should bring fresh forces into play, and awake the latent energy of the Northern nations. Italy had taken the lead in learning, and Spain and Portugal in colonial expansion; and it might well be expected that the other nations should now come to claim their share, and entering the field with fresh vigour at a later stage, they might well outstrip the first pioneers. Looking solely at secular causes, and at the analogous rise and fall of other races unaffected by any change in religion, we can surely find enough to explain the relative position of Spain and England without recurring to the Catholicism of the one and the Protestantism of the other.*

* Hegel's doctrine on the subject may be too strongly stated, and we should be loth to allow that the other races were *ganz rechtlos*; but the theory that there is generally one dominant race representing the culture of the age, and

We might point to other facts too often forgotten by the objectors. Some Protestant nations have declined in power, and others only seem to advance when their Protestantism is perishing. Nor must we omit the serious consideration that there is, after all, a darker side to our vaunted civilisation, and in some important respects the advantage is rather with those nations which are commonly thought to be poor and backward. Some writers on this topic talk of "progress" or "prosperity," as if the two things were synonymous, or at any rate inseparable. But as an eminent Socialist reminds us, it is really "Progress and Poverty" that go hand-in-hand. And those favoured nations which have outstripped their neighbours in the race are among those that feel more acutely the crisis of the social question. It is certainly significant that, here, the Catholic Church in the person of the present Pontiff has come to the rescue, recalling men to a sense of those duties the neglect of which has brought on this grave danger to human society.

In more than one passage in his volume Dr. Fairbairn shows that he feels the gravity of the social crisis, and looks for a remedy to the teaching and practice of true religion. And as we have seen, he pays a tribute to the good work done in this direction by some of the more recent Ritualists. But his readers might suppose that the earlier Oxford leaders never felt this pressing need, and gave all their attention to ecclesiastical and speculative questions. And it may not be amiss to recall the fact that at least one of these earlier writers fully shared these feelings, and dwelt with characteristic force and vigour on the duties of the Church towards the labouring classes, and the grave danger of their outcast condition.

In his "Ideal of a Christian Church" Dr. Ward takes up and echoes the warning words of the author of "Perils of the Nation," and shows us his Ideal Church acting as the poor man's court of justice, and bringing a remedy for the evils of the hour. The same writer, we may add, has some remarks on scientific history and biblical criticism which are well

that the sceptre naturally passes on from one nation to another, seems to have some foundation in history. See, on this, the concluding sections of his "Philosophie des Rechts."

worthy of attention. But Dr. Fairbairn's strange neglect of this admirable book does much to impair the value of his judgment on the Oxford Movement.

Turning to another point in his invidious comparison, we find our author laying stress on the intellectual pre-eminence of the Protestant nations. He speaks of the great German philosophers—or rather of some of them—in terms which even their admirers may well think overstrained. And he dwells on the fact that all these eminent thinkers arose outside the Catholic communion. In much the same strain he enlarges on the golden age of English literature which followed in the train of the Reformation. And Milton, as he reminds us, "was the poet of a still more radical revolution" (p. 197). Elsewhere, again, we are told that the history of the theory of developments "well illustrates the obligations of Catholic to what is called 'non-Catholic' thought" (pp. 157–8). And a famous passage of Möhler's, which the critic seems unable to appreciate rightly, is described as the application of the Hegelian idea to the Catholic Church.*

Now, here we may observe, in the first place, that the alleged pre-eminence is by no means beyond dispute. For it would be easy to bring together a list of Catholic writers who would, at least, make a fair show against the illustrious names mentioned by our author. And a further consideration of the facts will serve to confirm our previous answer to the objection drawn from Protestant progress and prosperity. The rise of a great national literature is the result of many and various causes, such as the influence and example of more cultured neighbours, or some struggle that stirs the heart of the people. Students of literary history will remember how the spirit of the Renaissance passed on from one land to another, and how the golden age of Greek letters followed on the war with the Persians. And both these forces were at work in Elizabethan England, and might well have brought forth that rich literary harvest without any help from Protestantism. But here we are not left to mere conjecture. For another great literature arose about the same time in the most

* P. 324. We recently had occasion to cite the passage in these pages; cf. DUBLIN REVIEW, vol. cxxi. p. 23.

intensely Catholic country of Europe. If England had her Spenser and Shakespeare, it must not be forgotten that Spain had Cervantes and Calderon. And, in one way, the argument to be drawn from Spanish literature is really the stronger of the two. For whatever view may be taken in the controversy concerning Shakespeare's religion, it can hardly be maintained that he was Protestant in the sense in which Calderon was Catholic.

The classic works of German literature cannot well be attributed to the Reformation, for they came in a later age, and arose out of another mental revolution. And the philosophers, whom Dr. Fairbairn holds in such high honour, owe more to earlier thinkers than to any teaching of Protestantism.* We gladly acknowledge that Catholic philosophers and theologians have often availed themselves of the work of outsiders, and no one who knows anything of the good use which the Schoolmen made of Aristotle and Proclus would dream of denying this. But we fancy that Dr. Fairbairn mistakes the nature and the extent of these obligations, and he seems to forget that, in the case of the moderns, there is also a debt on the other side. Elsewhere in his work, while he welcomes the increased attention paid to the writings of St. Thomas, he warns us that the Angelic Doctor cannot be forced "to shed light on problems that had not emerged in his own day." "Descartes, Hume, and Kant," he adds, "are not to be so answered and superseded" (p. 117). It is, doubtless, the case that these later philosophers are sometimes made the subject of not very intelligent criticism, and Catholic writers may not always enter sufficiently into new fashions of thought. But it must be borne in mind that the moderns owe not a little to the mediæval Schoolmen, and both of them, again, have drawn largely from common sources. Hume, as we know, was indebted to St. Thomas, and what is sometimes considered the last word of German philosophy is really older than Aristotle. As Matthew Arnold well says: "Hegel seized a single pregnant sentence of Heracleitus, and cast it, with a thousand striking applications, into the world of modern thought." †

* See the interesting monograph of J. Bach, "*Meister Eckhardt der Vater der Deutschen Speculation.*"

† See the Essay on Spinoza and the Bible. We may add Hegel's own words

We need not dwell on the question of development in doctrine or on the passage from Möhler's "Symbolism." For, as we have already had occasion to remind our readers, the former principle was present in our theology from a very early date; and the great German writer does but set forth in his own well-chosen words a profound truth which has ever been the teaching of the Church.*

A broader and more impartial survey of European history and literature might serve to show Dr. Fairbairn that his picture of Protestant pre-eminence is, to say the least, somewhat highly coloured. But this, after all, is only a minor matter. For his language here and elsewhere in his book betrays a far more serious misconception than any mistaken estimate of Spanish poets or German philosophers. Partial and imperfect though it is, we might almost regard his account of Catholic literature as just and generous when we come to compare it with his conception of "Catholicism" itself. In his eyes

The Catholic Church is built on a conception of Deity that is not Christ's; it dispenses His grace and distributes His truth to those outside its pale on terms, in modes and quantities, that involve the negation of His holiest attributes and qualities—the scholastic distinctions which most incline to charity being but an aggravation of the offence.†

And he tells us that "the most conclusive argument against an infallible Church is a sovereign Christ." For the authority of the Church, being organised, legal, and definitive, is, it would seem, something altogether different from the authority of Christ, which is, on the contrary, "personal, moral, religious." It is painful to find a writer, who is evidently anxious to be just, unable, in spite of all his studies, to get any nearer than this to a true conception of Catholicism. If he could only shake himself free from the fetters of his Protestant tradition, and see the facts as they are, he might find that the

on Heraclitus: "Hier sehen wir Land; es ist kein Satz des Heraklit, den Ich nicht in meine Logik aufgenommen."—"Geschichte der Philosophie," bd. i. th. i. Abschn. i. D. Readers who find the German writer somewhat obscure will remember how Lucretius describes his Greek forerunner:

"Clarum ob obscuram linguam magis inter inanis,
Quamde gravis inter Graios, qui vera requirunt."

* Cf. DUBLIN REVIEW, vol. cxxi. pp. 16, 28.

† P. 201. There is apparently some strange misapprehension as to the real drift of those distinctions underlying this last clause.

Catholic's notion of authority, and the Church's charity to those outside her pale, are both very different and by no means what he supposes. He might learn that a Catholic does but obey the Church because he believes that Christ is speaking through her.

It is personal love and loyalty to the Divine Redeemer that makes the children of the Church submit to that teaching. For has He not said, "He that heareth you heareth me"? And for the same reason the Catholic knows that the Church, through which Christ speaks, is not for a sect or for a nation, but for all men, and must be heard and obeyed of all. Where is the narrowness in this Catholic ideal? Not that the knowledge of divine things and the grace of God are limited to this divinely appointed channel. He can know but little of Catholic theology who imagines that this is its teaching. And the notion that, from our point of view, the non-Catholic nations should be considered as being forsaken by God, is one that we can only regard with horror.

The true Catholic rejoices to know and believe that God gives to all men the good gifts of nature, and the light of reason by which they can come to a knowledge of their Maker. He knows that "The Spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole earth," and that the divine Word is "the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world." He sees that remnants of truth are found in false systems of religion; that much of Catholic truth is yet happily preserved among those who have been separated from the visible body of the Church. And he knows that God gives grace everywhere. All this a Catholic may learn from the teaching of theology, from books written centuries since, without reference to any modern controversy. And these principles have often been exemplified in religious history, especially in that remarkable movement which is recorded in Dr. Fairbairn's pages. In the Oxford Movement and in continental revival we see much of what is true and good in various separate systems; and we see how, when carried forward to greater fulness, these scattered elements of truth find their natural home in the bosom of the One Church Catholic.

W. H. KENT, O S C.

Science Notices.

The Nernst Electric Lamp.—At the dawn of the electric-light industry, M. Jablochhoff produced an electric lamp consisting of a strip of kaolin. Along the top of the kaolin he placed a mixture of carbon and treacle, which was called the match. This conducted the electricity produced at a pressure of 100 volts, until it heated the kaolin. With the rise of temperature the kaolin became a conductor and consequently incandescent. But the Jablochhoff lamp was doomed not to survive. Another lamp on the same principle was the *Lampe Soleil*, in which an arc was struck across a surface of marble which became intensely heated, and finally conducting gave forth a brilliant white light. But this lamp now exists only in history.

The idea of using a refractory substance becoming an electrolyte when hot for a medium to emit light by incandescence has been revived by Professor Nernst. His lamp is, however, designed to take the place of the familiar carbon filament in vacuo. He uses highly refractory oxides as his material. Such oxides are notoriously good insulators when cold, but when heated become conductors. The material is worked up into a little white rod, to which are attached two platinum wires. The rods are mounted on a holder which fits ordinary electric-light fittings. But the peculiarity of the Nernst lamp is that it will not light up of itself as do other electric lamps, for the very reason that the rod will not conduct the current when cold. So means must be taken to warm it up. The simplest way of doing this is to warm it with a match or a small spirit lamp. In the case of the small and medium sized lamps a more elaborate method is to start the conducting action by a heating resistance. This is arranged close to the rod and in shunt to it. As soon as the rod is heated sufficiently, its current works a tiny cut-out in the resistance circuit. In the larger types of lamps the heating system is not so simple, the resistance arrangement being a kind of hood which covers the rod. When the rod conducts, the resistance circuit is broken, and the electro-magnet lifts the little hood clear off the rod.

An increase of current decreases the resistance of these little rods, and thus instability is produced in running in parallel on supply circuits. This defect has to be corrected by putting a series resistance in the lamp. This is made up of very fine wire, and for

ordinary circuits amounts to 10 or 12 per cent. of the whole resistance of the lamp. The consumption, including the resistance, is 1.5 Watts per candle for large lamps, and 1.6 for small lights and low pressures. In such a low-pressure lamp the loss of heat at the ends is large in proportion. The life of the rods running at an efficiency of two-thirds of a candle per Watt, including the resistance, is more than 500 hours. When the rod is worn out, a new rod with its wire mounts is all that is replaced, and the whole lamp has not, therefore, to be sacrificed as is the case with ordinary incandescent lamps.

The advantages claimed for the Nernst lamp appear to be as follows :

1. As the efficiency of the lamp is very high, consequently it gives a very white light.

2. Compared with the carbon filament lamps, as a material of much higher specific resistance is dealt with, it is easy to give small lights and high pressures. High pressures have been found to be destructive to the delicate carbon filament of the ordinary lamp, especially in the case of the thin and long filaments of the high candle-power lamps.

3. In the case of the large lamps, they are claimed to compete with the arc light in efficiency, while they give a much pleasanter light than the arc, and one that is perfectly steady. Though not cheaper at first cost, the Nernst light will be much cheaper in maintenance. Unlike the arc lamp, the Nernst large lamps can be made to work in parallel at 800 volts. In the opinion of Mr. James Swinburne, these facts "put an entirely new development of electric lighting in the hands of the engineer."

But if we consider the distribution of electric light generally, it will be obvious that the Nernst lamp possesses many disadvantages compared with the carbon filament type. To have to light it either by warming it with matches or spirit lamps, or by complicated automatic arrangements, is a decidedly retrograde step in the development of artificial light. Then the lamp affords no protection against fire as does the carbon filament in its vacuum; the use of the Nernst lamp in private and public buildings would rather tend to court disaster by the liberal use of matches and spirit lamps. The Nernst arrangement is, in fact, an incandescent lamp devoid of one of its most essential properties—independence of its surroundings.

But it may find a place in street lighting, for which it appears most suited.

The Meteorology of the Antarctic Regions.—Of the many problems which it is hoped the proposed British Antarctic Expedition may solve is the debated question whether the extreme South Polar area is characterised by a vast cyclonic system and low-pressure area, or by anti-cyclonic conditions which some suppose to be practically permanent. The former assumption is based upon the knowledge that at all seasons in the southern hemisphere south of latitude 45° S. there is a remarkably low atmosphere pressure, with the accompanying strong westerly and north-westerly winds and abundant rain and snow fall.

According to Sir J. Murray, the mean pressure is 29 inches, which is much lower than in similar latitudes in the northern hemisphere. According to Fenel's theory of atmospheric circulation over the globe, explorers might expect to find the cyclonic condition at the extreme south. There appears, however, to be every indication that the contrary state of atmosphere prevails. Sir John Murray has recently pointed out that Ross's barometric observations indicate a general rise in the pressure south of the latitude of 75° S., and all antarctic voyagers agree that when near the ice most winds blow from the south and south-east, and bring clear weather with fall of temperature, while northerly winds bring thick fogs and rise of temperature. Speaking lately on the subject at a meeting of the Royal Society, Sir John Murray said :

All our knowledge of the meteorological conditions of the antarctic is limited to a few observations during the midsummer months, and these indicate that the temperature of the snow-covered antarctic continent is even at that time much lower than that of the surrounding sea. The anti-cyclonic area at the South Pole appears therefore to be permanent, and when in winter the sea-ice is for the most part continuous and extends far to the north, the anti-cyclonic area has most probably a much wider extension than in summer. This is indicated by the south-easterly winds which at times blow towards the southern point of the American continent in June and July. All observations in high southern latitudes indicate an extremely low summer temperature. In winter we have no direct observations. The mean of Ross's air temperatures south of the latitude 63° S. was 28.74° F., which is about the freezing-point of sea-water, and his maximum temperature was 43.5° . Both Wilkes and Dumont d'Urville observed pools of fresh water on several icebergs, and when sailing along the ice barrier, Ross saw gigantic icicles depending from every projecting point of its perpendicular cliffs, so it is possible that extensive melting sometimes takes place. In the latitude of the antarctic circle the air is frequently at or near the point of saturation, and precipitation takes place in the form of rain, sleet, snow, or hail. Most of the observations near the ice-covered land show, however, a much drier atmosphere, and in all probability precipitation over the antarctic continent takes place in the form of fine snow-crystals, such as is recorded in the interior of Greenland.

If the work of the expedition was only to fix the position of the great ring of low atmospheric pressure surrounding the globe in the Southern Ocean, the equipment would be justified.

The Duration of Persistence of Vision.—Recent quantitative experiments with the aerial graphoscope have thrown new light on persistence of vision—a phenomenon which has been hitherto little investigated. The principle of the aerial graphoscope and its use as an educational instrument has been mentioned in this REVIEW, 1889 and 1894. To enable the aerial graphoscope to measure the exact duration of the persistent image on the individual retina, the lath, revolved by an electric motor, has only to be provided with a counter for determining the number of revolutions in a given time. When the lath is revolved in front of the projection lantern at first only slowly, but gradually getting faster and faster, everybody will not see the first appearance of a continuous image at the same speed; in fact, there is a great difference in the speeds required by different persons, the exact rate being a matter of individual capacity. From the rate of revolutions at which each person sees persistence of vision, the exact duration of persistence of vision in seconds is easily calculated. In making these calculations it is necessary to remember that, the lath being rotated at its centre, each part of the picture is reinforced twice during each revolution. Some hundred tests with sixty-seven persons have been taken with the aerial graphoscope under varying conditions, the results of which have recently been published in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*. The arrangement of the apparatus employed for the purpose was as follows: A lath 76 centimetres long and 5 centimetres broad was revolved by an electric motor provided with a means of counting its evolutions. The motor was worked by means of a 5-cell electric storage battery through a resistance. The low speed of twenty-seven revolutions the half-minute was taken as the lowest limit of the tests. The persons taken for the tests were of both sexes and of various ages and classes. In the first set of tests taken in 1895 fourteen of the twenty-five persons could see the persistent image at the low-test rate selected, only twenty-seven revolutions the half-minute. This gives a long persistence on the retina—as much as 2·2 seconds; the shortest persistence in the group of twenty-five tests being ·652. The subject was an engineering student. The reason for the high readings is doubtless the brilliant oxy-hydrogen light employed in the lantern and placed at such a short distance from the revolving lath. They show that one of the most

determining factors in the duration of persistence of vision is the intensity of the illumination under which objects are seen, and that the quotation of any averages for persistence of vision such as $\frac{1}{30}$ or $\frac{1}{50}$ of a second, without any reference to the nature of the illuminant, is exceedingly vague. Most of the persons in the first group of tests described themselves as being of good sight, but two tests were taken with persons who were short-sighted. Their reading was 1.46 and 1.76. There has not as yet been a sufficient number of tests with short-sighted persons to decide whether there exists any relation between short sight and persistence. It is possible that long and short duration of persistence runs in families. In the first series of tests the sister of the engineering student with the short record of .652 came out as .88.

An interesting series of tests was that taken with twenty-six subjects before and after bodily exertion. The subjects were schoolboys selected from various schools. They all undertook to be tested first in their normal condition, and secondly immediately after violent exercise in the form of running for some minutes. No one was tested the second time until he was panting for breath. In the results of these tests the persistence of every subject was altered by running except one, who registered the same figure, viz., 1.05, in each case. The record of seven was lowered, but that of nineteen was heightened. Thus it would seem that bodily fatigue tends to prolong persistence of vision.

Tests were also taken with the light of different colours compared with white light, the rays from the lantern passing through red, green, and violet glasses. These tests were made with five females. Several of these were the mean of three readings. The reason for taking the mean of three readings was not that the subjects were undecided, but because it was advisable to be sure of the accuracy of the tests by obtaining several uniform runnings of the motor. The motor, however, gave very uniform runnings, coming out time after time exactly the same figure. With regard to the colour tests, there were not a sufficient number of tests to lead to any very definite conclusions, though in most cases a different reading was obtained. The following table gives the averages and means for white light and the various colours:

	Average.			Mean.		
White	.	.	1.236	.	.	1.23
Red	.	.	1.147	.	.	1.1
Violet	.	.	1.206	.	.	1.38
Green	.	.	1.21	.	.	1.15

The first three persons who were tested for colour were also tested

after the retinal rest produced by being kept in the dark for some minutes. The first two give a higher reading of persistence than under white light, the third a lower.

White light.				After retinal rest.			
1.	.	.	.95	1.	.	.	1.17
2.	.	.	.857	2.	.	.	1.02
3.	.	.	1.6	3.	.	.	1.304

In the various groups of tests the highest number of revolutions the half-minute to see persistence was 101, against 27, the lowest. The former gives a persistence in seconds of .594. Two cases of persons wearing glasses are tabulated. The persistence of one was .625, of the other .779.

These tests in persistence of vision, showing that not only do different persons vary in their capacities for persistence, but also the same person under different circumstances, besides being of general physiological interest, have lately been shown to have a national importance.

The necessity of intercommunication in the operations of war has been more completely realised by this nation than any other, and it has excelled in the development of rapid visual signalling. With such signalling methods as lantern, flag, or heliograph, the ideal of sending and reading twenty words a minute has been realised, though in practice the speed is wisely limited to twelve words a minute. But the high standard which has been attained is the result of very great labour and time expenditure on the part of the signalling instructors, and it has long been recognised that the selection and training of signallers is beset with difficulty and often with disappointment. Colonel Keyser, late Inspector of Army Signalling, stated in a lecture delivered before the members of the Royal United Service Institution on February 1893, that out of a batch of twenty men struck off to form a class of signallers, the average number who are ever likely to prove of any use as efficient signallers is seldom more than three. The difficulty doubtless arises from persistence of vision. A test as to the duration of persistence of vision previous to selecting a signaller is all-important. But it is one that has hitherto not been used. Taking the case of lantern signalling, the light inside a signaller's lantern is visible through persistence of vision when the shutter obscures the actual light from reaching the eye. In reading the signals the signaller is discriminating between real and incidental images, a delicate operation. It seems evident that the signaller's sharp reading of dot and dash will depend upon the persisting capacity

of his retina. A good signaller seems likely to be one whose persistence of vision is abnormally low, and according to this theory the person who saw the first appearance of a continuous image at 101 revolutions the half-minute would make the best signaller of those tested with the revolving lath. In the course of the tests the reading of a highly trained signaller was taken, which is '76.

At a recent meeting of the Royal United Service Institution the relation of persistence of vision to modern rapid visual signalling was discussed, and the method of testing the retina by the revolving lath practically demonstrated. The scheme met with the decided approval of the signalling authorities. Colonel Keyser, who has had a great experience of visual signalling in peace and in war, gave his opinion of the value of the instrument when it was brought before the Society of Arts last year. He then said :

It might afford a means of testing men for persistence of vision, and so save the instructors a great deal of time and trouble by weeding out men who would necessarily fail in the final examination, not for want of diligence or attention, but simply because they were physically incapable of ever making good signallers.

This opinion was endorsed at the meeting of the Royal United Service Institution on February 2 by Major Rhodes, the present Inspector of Army Signalling, who thinks that even a rough-and-ready apparatus produced at small cost would be a boon to signalling instructors. But it would seem advisable that the subject should not only be tested under ordinary circumstances, but under all kinds of conditions, such as after fatigue. Perhaps those only should be selected whose persistence exhibits little fluctuation under a variety of circumstances. For instance, in the fatigue group, the subject who was '821 before running and 1'304 after running would hardly make a good signaller. A fitter one would be the subject who was '659 before running and '612 afterwards, combining a low degree of persistence with a not very great divergence under the two circumstances.

Colonel Keyser a few years ago called attention to the necessity of preserving signallers from fatigue by carrying them on cycles or ponies. This necessity is emphasised by the fatigue tests, which show that it is not only general physical lassitude which renders signallers incompetent, but an alteration in the working of the retinal mechanism.

The perfection of visual signalling does not, however, only appeal to the army and navy. It especially demands the attention of the merchant service. In a boasted age of progress it seems almost incon-

ceivable that large steam liners should have no means of communicating by night, and only primitive and inadequate means of transmitting signals by day. It has been estimated that this neglect is answerable for the sacrifice of thousands of lives and millions of property. Possibly it may be urged in excuse that the selection and making of Morse Code signallers is a process requiring too great attention to be practicable for the merchant service. If such has been the reason for the omission, the knowledge that it is possible to select retinas suited to the work, by scientifically testing the subjects for persistence of vision, may suggest that there is no longer justification for the absence of means of communication and consequent risk to life.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Progress in Siam.—The efficiency of British administration in retrieving the condition of Oriental States has been once again exemplified in the work of Mr. Mitchell-Innes, now gone to fill a post in Egypt, as Financial Adviser to the King of Siam for two and a half years. The revenue has increased from £1,260,000 to £2,030,000, and though the expenditure also shows an increase from £889,000 to £1,820,000, this is entirely due to payment of arrears, improved police administration, and enlarged outlay on public works. The former system of leaving all salaries months in arrear led to utter disorganisation of the public service, and the effect of the reform in the punctual payment of fixed salaries to all from the highest to the lowest is visible in its greater efficiency. The accounts for the current year show a surplus of £210,000, while the Treasury reserve amounts to over a million sterling. The Civil List, too, instead of fluctuating with the revenue, of which 15 per cent. was assigned to it, is settled at a fixed annual sum of reasonable amount. Instead of the old defective system of revenue collection, in which no accounts were kept and no audit held, the Burma village system is being everywhere introduced by Prince Damrong, the revenues are paid into the provincial treasuries, and accounts are rendered monthly. The inland duties on goods in transit are being lightened throughout the country, and taxation simplified, so that Siam is now the most lightly taxed country in Asia, with almost complete free transit in the interior. British officials lent by Burma are doing equally good work in other departments. Under Mr. Slade, who has introduced the Burmese forest regulations obviating waste, the teak revenues have been trebled; and under Mr. Jardine, an efficient police force, 2515 strong, consisting of Siamese stiffened by a few Afghans, has been disciplined, and is in the receipt of regular pay. Smuggling and illicit dealing have been checked to such an extent that the revenues from the Government opium and spirit licences have doubled. A reform in the land-tax is being introduced by Mr. McCarthy, Surveyor-General, and the native irrigation works near Bangkok have been so successful that there are now 60,000 inhabitants where formerly there were none.

Ice-breakers for the Arctic Seas.—Vice-Admiral Makaroff, of the Russian Imperial Navy, delivered an interesting address on "Some Important Oceanographic Problems and Novel Modes of Research," to a special meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, on February 9, 1899. After devoting the first section of his lecture to his investigations into the phenomena of double currents, he passed on to the subject with which his name is most generally associated in this country, the use of ice-breakers for the navigation of the Polar Seas. He described and exhibited a model of an ice-breaker of 10,000 horse-power, now in process of construction on the Tyne by Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., and almost ready to proceed on her voyage to the Baltic. With this vessel experiments are to be made in the Kara Sea, preliminary to attempts to penetrate farther north with the aid of her special machinery. Admiral Makaroff stated his belief that she should proceed in a zigzag line, shaping her course between floes, where the resistance might be supposed to be least. Sir John Murray, in the discussion which followed, declared that he had never seen anything in the Arctic Seas which he should call a real iceberg, and that he could see no impossibility in Admiral Makaroff's project of breaking a way through the floes to the Pole in the newly-constructed vessel.

Journey through the Equatorial Forest.—Mr. Albert Lloyd, lay missionary in Uganda, has made an interesting journey to the West Coast by Stanley's route through the equatorial forest, though by a line somewhat more southerly than his. Toru, the western province of the Protectorate, which was his starting-point, he describes as owing its exemption from all the turmoil of the adjacent countries to the excellent administration of Captain Sitwell. He left it on September 19, 1898, and on October 1 entered the forest, in which he spent twenty days. In its sombre gloom a perpetual twilight was accompanied by perpetual silence, broken only by the occasional crash of a falling tree. He was on friendly terms with its diminutive inhabitants the Pygmies, whom he succeeded in photographing. None of those measured by him attained the height of 4 feet, though they were furnished with long beards, producing an incongruous effect on the little mannikins. Following the Ituri through an almost uninhabited region, Mr. Lloyd reached the Aruwimi, and launching two canoes on that stream, floated to the Congo and so to Leopoldville on November 24.

Exploration in the Caroline Islands.—Mr. Christian has discovered a new and singular field of exploration among the coralline islets sprinkled so thickly over the Pacific in the region of Micronesia. The Caroline Archipelago, the scene of his investigations, consists of thirty-six minor groups, comprising altogether 680 separate islands, very sparsely inhabited by some 50,000 souls, compounded of the black, brown, and yellow races, Polynesian, Melanesian, Negrito, and Malay. The two principal island groups of Yap and Ponape, the seats of Spanish government, are 1500 miles apart. To the latter the present explorer came in January 1896, urged thereto by "that Ulysses of Pacific waters," Mr. Louis Becke, in order to examine some remarkable ruins reported to exist in the archipelago. Ponape, with an area of 340 square miles, is surrounded by a barrier reef enclosing a lagoon about a mile and a half in width, and containing thirty-three lesser islets. The growth of live coral on the south and south-west is rapidly rendering the lagoon in that quarter unfit for navigation save by the lightest canoes. The principal exports are copra, *bêche de mer*, vegetable ivory, turtle-shell, and pearl-shell. The beliefs of such of the natives as are not Christianised resemble those of other Melanesians: thus they practise the tabu and hold great solemnities of kava-drinking with elaborate rites. The priests, who are diviners, rain-makers, and medicine men generally, rank next to the chiefs in the social hierarchy. Deified ancestors combined with a sort of totemism form the basis of their religious beliefs, but natural phenomena are also honoured in the form of some special bird, plant, or animal, in which they are supposed to reside. A vegetable diet of yams, bananas, taro, and bread-fruit, is varied by fish and shell-fish, as well as by pigeons and small birds, while dogs are highly relished, and the turtle is reserved for chiefs alone. Prawns, crabs, and crayfish are eaten with gusto, but eels, as by the lower orders in Ireland, are held in abhorrence, and are never touched as food. Men and women alike have the limbs tattooed, but not the face. The native dress of both sexes was a sort of kilt or petticoat of cocoa-nut filaments or bark, but they have begun to adopt European dress with fatal results to their health, as keeping on their clothes wet or dry induces pulmonary complaints.

Cyclopean Ruins on Ponape.—The site of the ruins is a dense group of islands in the lagoon between fifty and sixty in number, all rectangular in shape, and either wholly or in part of artificial construction. Some are encased in walls of columnar basalt, others are

solidly faced with it, while a network of shallow canals intersects the archipelago. The character of the island city is expressed in the name of the district in which it is situated, Metalanim, signifying "waterways between the houses." The area occupied by these islets, called Nan-Matal, is about nine square miles, and it is defended on the sea fronts by massive breakwaters, the walls of which show at intervals through the jungle of mangroves and shrubs that smother them. The enormous blocks of basalt used in these constructions must have been brought in canoes or rafted down the coast a distance of twenty or thirty miles, from the foot of a towering basalt cliff where it was found, and whence its course can be tracked by the blocks dropped on the way and strewing the bottom of the lagoon. Mr. Christian, who devoted ten days to the examination of the remains, describes those on one of the islands as follows in the *Geographical Journal* for February :

The water front is faced with a solid terrace of massive stonework, about 6 ft. wide, standing about 6 ft. above the shallow water-way. Above is a striking example of immensely solid Cyclopean masonry. A great wall about between 20 ft. and 30 ft. high and about 10 ft. in thickness, formed of basaltic prisms laid alternately lengthwise and crosswise, encloses an oblong space, which can be entered only by the great gateway in the middle of the west face, and by a small portal in the north-west corner. The right side of the gateway is overshadowed and all but hidden from view by the dense leafage of a huge Iloik-tree. This we had not the heart to destroy, a wonder of deep green heart-shaped leaves, thickly studded with tassels of scarlet trumpet-shaped flowers. In olden times the walls must have been considerably greater in height, but much of the masonry has now fallen into lamentable ruin. A series of huge rude steps brings us into a courtyard strewn with fragments of broken pillars. This encloses a second terraced enclosure, topped by a remarkable projecting frieze or cornice of stonework. Another rude flight of steps leads up to the great central vault or treasure-chamber, said to be the grave of an ancient monarch, who bore the dynastic title of Chau-te-Leur.

Tradition avers that this monarch met his death at the hands of invaders who arrived in a great fleet of canoes from the south, and effaced the ancient civilisation. Part of the walls were thrown down and the survivors among their defenders offered up in sacrifice to the gods of the conquerors, while the king perished in a neighbouring river, and was changed by the spirits into a blue fish, of a kind which the inhabitants will not eat to this day. The natives avoid the islands, believing them to be haunted, and only one or two are inhabited by about a score of people, the others being only occasionally visited by fishermen.

Island of Yap.—This island, the most westerly of the Carolines, is girdled, like Ponape, by a reef and lagoon, and surrounded by a belt of cocoanut-palms about half a mile deep. The inhabitants, numbering some 8000, are Malays with a slight Polynesian intermixture, and have houses solidly built of wood and thatched with Nipa-palm and pandanus-leaf. They are divided into four classes—nobles, magicians, rich men, and slaves. They are principally remarkable for their use of a highly inconvenient form of currency, great discs of quartz varying from 6 inches to 12 feet in diameter, so that ten yoke of oxen and a waggon would be required to transport a few such coins. In point of fact, however, they are principally used for show, and may be seen leaning against the walls or terraces of the houses belonging to the wealthy, who thus make a display of their unwieldy riches. They also use pearl-shells of various sizes as currency, but in recent days these have been almost superseded by bags of copra as a medium of exchange. Another article much treasured by them is a rough, shaggy white mat, like the skin of a goat or dog, made of the beaten-out bark of the lemon hibiscus-tree, and kept only for show, not for use.

The Pitcairn Islanders.—A report issued by the Colonial Office on this little community shows that it cannot continue to subsist in its present isolation. The colony, originally formed by the mutineers of the *Bounty*, showed the taint of crime in its early history, a record of murder and madness, until all the adults save one, Alexander Smith, having died off before 1800, he devoted himself to training the rising generation, with such success as to create a virtuous and inoffensive community. With the exception of some emigration to Norfolk Island, they have remained segregated from the world without, with the result that they have now lapsed into a state of complete degeneracy. Whether this be due to continued consanguineous intermarrying during 107 years, or to absence to stimulus from without, is a question for physiologists; both causes may perhaps have concurred to produce it. Captain Dyke, of her Majesty's ship *Comus*, who visited the island in April 1898, describes one curious trait, the loss of the front teeth, as very noticeable amongst them.

To be correct [he says] the teeth are not lost, but broken off. Some attribute this defect to the food eaten by the inhabitants, such as bananas, yams, &c., but this is not noticed in the negro races, or even in the Tahitian natives close at hand, who live on the same sort of food. Again, an American missionary and his wife, who have been on the island since June 1896, assured me that the want of intellect among the young was

simply appalling, and they had no hesitation in putting it down to this intermarrying.

They neither drink nor smoke, and begin and end the day with prayer; but the adults have a weary, unsatisfied look, and no doubt the trail of the serpent of *ennui* is over this stagnant Eden. They number 149.

Great Nile-Dam at Assuan.—The dam at Assuan, of which the Duke of Connaught laid the foundation-stone during his visit to Egypt, is characterised by Mr. Penfold, in the February number of the *Century*, as “a scheme on a scale worthy of a Rameses or a Pharaoh.” The contractors, who are to be paid somewhat less than £5,000,000 sterling, in deferred payments extending over a period of thirty years, undertake to complete the work by July 1, 1903, when a lake will have been created with “two or three times the superficial area of Lake Geneva,” with its waters so completely under control that they can be directed into distant channels at will. The dam, which will be built of ashlar granite, much of it quarried on the spot, and identical with the material of Cleopatra’s Needle and other obelisks, will have a maximum height of 76 feet, and, with its approaches, a length of nearly a mile and a quarter. It will hold up the water-level 46 feet, and will carry on its summit a road enabling the traffic of the district to cross the river. It will add 2500 square miles to the cultivable area of Egypt, increasing it by 25 per cent., reclaiming vast tracts of actual desert, and enabling much of the existing arable land to produce several crops a year by the supply of summer water. The capital value of the additional irrigation thus supplied to Egypt is computed at £20,000,000 sterling, and the addition to the revenue from sale of water and taxation of reclaimed land at £400,000 a year. Cane-sugar is the crop which will principally benefit by the fresh tap of Nile water, as this is the most promising industry of Upper Egypt, owing to the exceptionally high quality of the Nile cane. Much European capital has already been invested in plantations, and a great sugar estate, watered by the Ibrahimieh Canal, was one of the costly and wasteful speculations of the Khedive Ismael, now perhaps about to be resuscitated, with many others of his dreams.

Colonel Macdonald’s Expedition.—Very valuable geographical as well as political results attained by Colonel Macdonald’s expedition from Uganda to the countries east of the Nile are summarised in the

Times of February 24, from information contained in recent letters from members of the force. The first point of concentration was Save, on the northern slope of Mount Elgon, and here the difficulty of obtaining supplies necessitated a prolonged halt. Two columns were then organised, one led by the commander of the expedition, the other by Captain Austin, R.E. The first proceeded due north as far as the Latuka country, between the Upper Nile and Lake Albert, a region described as "low, damp, and hot," with the additional drawback of being, at the time of the explorer's visit, almost devoid of food. The expedition did some valuable work in making treaties with the chiefs as far north as Lado and the 5th parallel, and enlisting local levies in order to keep the road to Lado open both for letters and traffic. Some Dervishes, deserters from the Khalifa's forces, were enlisted in the regular troops. As Colonel Macdonald's trade goods were running out, he then returned to Mount Elgon, in the neighbourhood of which it is supposed he intends to establish a permanent post in charge of a European officer, in order to maintain his hold on the country. As the term for which his porters had been engaged was near its end, and he was anxious to keep faith with them, he proposed returning to the coast, with a view to the organisation of a fresh expedition to make Latuka its base for advancing to the Sobat. His plans may, however, be modified by other movements, such as the march of Colonel Martyr's column, or the progress of the Anglo-Egyptian forces in the Sudan.

Captain Austin's Explorations.—The second column, taking a more north-easterly route, reached the western shore of Lake Rudolf near its southern end. According to observations of latitude carefully taken on the march, Captain Austin places the lake considerably farther north than Lieutenant von Höhnel and Count Teleki, and believes it extends almost to the 5th parallel of north latitude. The western shores, which had been previously visited only by two Europeans, Mr. Cavendish and the Italian traveller Captain Bottego, he found fringed with a chain of shallow lagoons, separated from the main expanse by low sandbars thrown up by winds or currents. Evidence of the encroachment of the water on the land at this side was afforded by the growth of palm-trees partially submerged, and in one place forming a line extending two or three miles into the lake. The Turquill River, whose bed five miles from the lake is half a mile wide, with densely wooded banks, never reaches it, but is absorbed in the intervening tract of sand. Water is obtained in its bed by digging; the surface stream, though abundant in its upper reaches, is evaporated in passing through the

sandy and arid region of its lower course. The river Omo, which flows into the northern extremity of the lake, is, in Captain Austin's opinion, its sole permanent feeder, and he describes its importance in North-eastern Africa as second only to that of the Nile. Like the eastern affluents of the greater stream, it has its origin in the Abyssinian highlands. The Mruli country was the most northerly point reached by Captain Austin, who returned to Save in November.

Work of Captain Kirkpatrick.—Captain Kirkpatrick, who, with some of his men, was unfortunately massacred by the natives, did valuable survey work before his death in the outlying countries north of Uganda and Usoga, and devoted special attention to mapping the irregular sheet of water generally called Lake Kioja, but which he says would be more correctly termed Lake Choga. It is one of those shallow and indeterminate expanses gradually merging into morass, from which it is not easy to separate it by a hard-and-fast line. The soundings vary from two to three fathoms, and it is dotted with patches of papyrus, and choked with lotus and weed in the shallower reaches. Captain Kirkpatrick succeeded, however, in mapping the lake, together with the adjoining country, and in thus making a notable addition to our knowledge of this part of Africa.

The Telegraph on the Congo.—The wires are steadily making their way across Central Africa along the Congo, and have now reached a point 800 miles east of Boma on the estuary, somewhere near the important station of New Antwerp. A telegram despatched from Kwamouth, at the junction of the Kassai with the Congo, was, according to the *Belgique Coloniale*, delivered at Boma half an hour later, across a distance which, until recently, it took two months for news to traverse, a like time of course being required for an answer, even under the most favourable circumstances of uninterrupted correspondence of messengers, steamers, and all means of communication.

Notices of Books.

A Benedictine Martyr in England. Being the Life and Times of the Venerable Servant of God, Dom John Roberts, O.S.B. By DOM BEDE CAMM, O.S.B., B.A., priest of St. Thomas's Abbey, Erdington; of the Congregation of Beuron. London: Bliss, Sands & Co., 12 Burleigh Street, Strand, W.C. 1897.

THIS is a life of special interest. It is the story of one who, to use the author's own words, "was the first professed monk to suffer for the faith in England since the nation's second apostasy under Elizabeth"—of one who "was the pioneer and the proto-martyr of the Benedictine revival" in England.

The author traces Dom Roberts's career with unflinching devotion from his birth at Trawdfynydd in Merioneth, of parents Catholic at heart though outwardly conforming to the new religion, to his studies at Oxford, his travels and conversion abroad, his career at St. Alban's, Valladolid, his reception there amid difficulties into the Benedictine Order, and, finally, his work and death in England. Five times was he captured and examined, three times banished the kingdom, four times imprisoned, before his final capture, trial, and martyrdom in 1610.

Great pains have been taken in collecting, as well as great care in sifting, the necessarily widespread and somewhat scanty material for such a life as this. And while full of devotion both to his hero and to his illustrious Order, the author is yet kindly in tone and scrupulously fair in alluding—so far as his subject demands—to the unhappy disputes and misunderstandings which arose among the English Catholics of that unhappy time.

Nor has the author any need to excuse himself for seeming to tell a twice-told tale. The history of the heroic martyrs of that time needs to be brought home again and again to English readers of to-day: it is all too little known; and apart from the fact that a new biography is likely to give new and fuller evidence, old events themselves gain a new interest when centred round a new life—especially if that life be told with the loyal Catholic spirit which marks this work throughout.

J. H.

Entretiens et Avis Spirituels. Par R. P. LÉCUYER, de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique. Introduction par le R. P. LIBERCIER, du même Ordre. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette. 1898.

THIS little work, of something over 200 pages, is truly a *multum in parvo*. It deals with the relations between the human soul and the Creator in a clear, sound, and practical manner. The ideas are mostly original, and nearly always sublime. But its principal charm is the unction and conviction that accompany the reader to the last page. With no room for a doubt the saintly author establishes the mission of every soul in its respective vocation of aiding God in the great work of saving souls. He portrays with a pen of light the dignity and majesty of the human soul and God's astounding familiarity with it. He depicts very vividly the ruinous effects of sin, and death with its circumstances and surroundings. In his "Avis Spirituels" he rolls the heavy stone from the entrance to the spiritual life, and the reader is made to feel that the service of God is, after all, a labour of love. When familiar and perhaps tired somewhat with our usual meditation books, it is, for freshness, for originality, for valuable instruction of a high order, really a treat to turn to the "Entretiens et Avis Spirituels" of Père Lécuyer, and, like Francis de Sales with the *Spiritual Combat* always in his breast, the reader with even feeble intentions of serving God feels an anxious desire to have it always at hand.

We hope, in the expectation of similar works, that the mantle of Père Lécuyer is still worn by some member of his distinguished Order.

JN. M.

The Irish University Question. The Catholic Case. By the ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN. Dublin: Brown and Nolan, Nassau Street. 1897.

THE Irish University Question" is a volume of much intellectual power and lucidity, and it will be prized by all who are interested—and what Catholic is not interested?—in the question of the establishment of a University in Ireland, Catholic, chartered, and endowed. The volume, which comes from the skilful hands of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, will prove a valuable armoury for all, Catholics or not, who are now engaged in fighting the battle of simple justice for Catholic Ireland in the matter of higher education. His Grace has been happily inspired to bring together and to publish

in connected form the arguments and facts with which, in numerous speeches and writings since his appointment to the Archbishopric of Dublin in 1885, he has publicly advocated the Catholic claim. To his own arguments he has added a number of important statements in reference to that claim made in recent years by responsible British statesmen and by other public men. To the whole he has prefixed a succinct but admirable historical outline of the Irish University Question, from the foundation in 1592, by a charter from Queen Elizabeth, of Trinity College (*Collegium mater Universitatis*), down to the present day. The University of Dublin still consists of only one college, but how and when the University, as distinct from Trinity College, came into existence, is a point "involved in considerable obscurity." The earliest extant reference to the University, in the charter of James I., dated May 12, 1613, takes for granted the distinction between them. It is of course anomalous that the same institution should discharge the functions both of a college and of a university, and the anomaly has been so keenly felt that the idea of the establishment of a second college has never been altogether lost sight of. Amongst other public documents which bear witness to the existence of this feeling is the Catholic Relief Act of 1793 (33 Geo. III., cap. 21). This Act makes it lawful for Catholics "to hold or take degrees or any professorship in, or be masters or fellows of, any college to be hereafter founded in this kingdom," provided always "that such college shall be a member of the University of Dublin." The college then contemplated has never been founded, and although the Act of 1793, followed up by a Royal Letter of the following year, conceded to Catholics the right to enter Trinity College as students and to take out degrees, the concession was rendered almost nugatory by a strict maintenance of the religious tests which excluded Catholics from all offices of trust and emolument in the college. Sheil's Bill of 1834, designed to open up the scholarships and professorships of Trinity College to Catholics "and other Dissenters," was not even read a first time. In 1845 was begun the "costly failure" of the Queen's Colleges, and since then the world has witnessed the collapse of the "Supplemental Charter" scheme of 1866; the rejection of Mr. Fawcett's Bill of 1867; the withdrawal of Lord Mayo's scheme of 1868; the defeat, by a majority of three votes, of Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1873; the passing, in the same year, of Mr. Fawcett's Bill abolishing all religious tests in Trinity College and in the University of Dublin; the establishment of the Royal University by the Beaconsfield Administration in 1879, and the consequent modification in the constitution of the unendowed and legally unrecognised Catholic

University, in October 1882. The colleges grouped together and associated with the Catholic University are St. Patrick's College, Maynooth; University College, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin; University College, Blackrock; St. Patrick's College, Carlow; Holy Cross College, Clonliffe; and the Catholic University School of Medicine, Cecilia Street, Dublin. But the students of these colleges have to compete with the students of the three Queen's Colleges, who are "aided in preparing for their examinations by State funds—libraries, laboratories, and other educational appliances being provided for them at the public expense, while all such assistance is denied to the students of denominational colleges."

His Grace points out the inherent defects which have involved the failure of so many attempts to remedy an admitted injustice, and he suggests three plans by any of which the Irish University question may be finally dealt with: (1) One State-recognised University in Ireland, embracing as its colleges all colleges fulfilling certain conditions to be laid down as entitling a college to University status, the examinations for the University degrees to be held, and the degrees to be conferred, by the University. (2) Two State-recognised Universities in Ireland. One of these would be the University of Dublin, modified in its constitution so as to comprise within it a great Catholic college in Dublin, in addition to Trinity College. The other would be the Royal University, substantially in its present form, but with all necessary modifications in detail. (3) Three State-recognised Universities in Ireland. One of these would be the University of Dublin, its present constitution, as well as that of Trinity College, being in no way interfered with, except, of course, in so far as its own authorities, or the Protestants of Ireland, might wish. The second would be a Catholic University, having as its central seat a great Catholic college in Dublin. The third would be a University for the Presbyterians and Protestant Dissenters generally, which would naturally have for its centre the present Queen's College of Belfast.

His Grace's volume is warmly to be commended, for it not only contains a luminous statement of the Catholic claim and of the principles upon which that claim rests, but also reproduces so many important documents that it becomes a valuable book of reference on the broader question of higher education in Ireland.

J. McL.

Answer to Difficulties of the Bible. By REV. JOHN THEIN. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 17, South Broadway. 8vo, pp. 628. Price \$1.75.

THIS volume professes to be only a compilation—and a compilation made “under the pressure of the various pastoral duties”—from the writings of various authors. It covers nearly the whole ground of Biblical criticism from Genesis to the Apocalypse, taking the books mainly in the order in which they are printed in the Vulgate. From this fact one may readily infer that the criticism which is answered is neither elaborate nor profound. The volume may be of some service to that unfortunately large class of superficial readers who pick up scraps of second or third hand criticism, and whose minds are contented as easily as they are disturbed; but it will not satisfy any serious student who has studied the works of the leaders in Biblical criticism.

Father Thein's English is frequently marked by peculiarities of diction—perhaps American, but most likely foreign. Thus, he says: “When, on account of the defect of documents arrived to us, criticism is unable to find an acceptable reconciliation, it has to confess only its ignorance, without that on this account it can question the authenticity of the Gospels which is based upon irrefragable proofs. In good logic, an insoluble difficulty is not sufficient to shake a thesis becomingly demonstrated by the arguments that are proper to it.”

J. McI.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY.

“**A** SHORT Treatise on the Holy Exercise of Meditation.” By a Priest of the Society of the Christian Retreat. Price 1d. Fr. Prieur, the author of this booklet, well deserves the commendatory letter which has been addressed to him by the Bishop of Southwark. He has really succeeded in giving the faithful a clear, simple, and attractive idea of mental prayer. Cast into the form of a catechism it epitomises all that has been written by the best ascetic authors about meditation, and should prove invaluable as a text-book for school children and novices. The loving, practical spirit of St. Alphonsus runs through this little book, which is eminently calculated to develop and spread the esteem and practice of that form of prayer which is the soul of all other spiritual exercises.

“Maxims of Blessed Sebastian Valfré,” of the the Turin Oratory, arranged for every day of the year. Price 1d. This collection of

maxims is translated from a little book called "Spirito, Massime e Pensieri del B. Sebastiano Valfré," published at Turin in 1879. At first sight the thoughts may seem disconnected, but a little attention will reveal the thread upon which each month's maxims are strung. "The love of God tires neither soul nor body." "Do not lose heart if you have no taste at all for mental prayer." "Take your proper place in society; nevertheless, in your secret heart desire the lowest place." "The end of a retreat should be, not consolation, but a resolution to do God's will, and perfect the soul by the amendment of our faults and the acquisition of virtues." These and many other gems are contained in this small casket of devotional jewels.

"Wayside Tales." By Lady Herbert. Fifth Series. Nos. 21-25. Price 1d. These well-known wayside flowers have been gathered in fields at home and abroad. Algeria, Poland, England, Ireland, Siberia, Italy, India, Australia, and France have been laid under contribution by the talented author, and a collection of dramatic and stirring stories is the result. The tale we like the best is "How I received my Sight," which takes us into the heart of the Apennines and powerfully moves us to cancel all our engagements and rush off to picturesque mediæval Gubbio. How bright our homes for children and our hospitals would become if these penny numbers were scattered through the wards!

Catholic Truth Society Publications. Vols. XXXVIII. and XXXIX. Cloth. Price 1s. These neatly bound volumes contain in handy form several controversial articles, topical papers, and interesting tales which were noticed by us as they came out in pamphlet form. For busy priests who have to deal with that *genus curiosum* the non-Catholic seeker after truth, and for heads of debating societies, this collection of "blue-books" must prove a godsend. There is scarcely an objection to our faith or a question about religious history and ecclesiastical practices that cannot be answered by a reference to these handy and cheap volumes.

"Historical Papers." Vol. V. Edited by the Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J. Price 1s. The editor calls special attention to the first paper contained in this volume—viz., "The English Coronation Oath," a paper to which an intrinsic and pathetic interest is attached because it comes from a pen now at rest—that of the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R. In the second paper, which is a short account of Blessed Thomas Percy, it is made clear that the Northern Rising in 1569 was not an act of treason against a lawful sovereign, but the resistance of Northern Catholicism to the attempt to suppress it by persecution. "The Landing of St. Augustine," "The Hungarian Confession," and

"The Reformation at St. Martin's, Leicester," are three papers well worth reading by sincere Protestants and intelligent Catholics.

Dr. Horton's baseless and unprovoked attack upon the veracity of the members of that Church which is God's pillar of truth on earth has drawn forth Catholic Truth pamphlets of more than an ephemeral value, called "Are Catholics allowed to Lie?" and "Dr. Horton on Catholic Untruthfulness" (both by the Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J.), "The Methods of a Protestant Controversialist" (by James Britten, K.S.G.), and "The Aid of Lying," by the late Fr. Bridgett, C.S.S.R.

"The Meaning and Aim of Christian Democracy," by C. S. Davies, M.A. (Price 1d.) and "Christian Democracy in Pre-Reformation Times," by Dom F. A. Gasquet, D.D., are the titles of two important papers on this social question. read at last year's Catholic Conference at Nottingham. The Catholic Truth Society has done well to print them.

Frances Noble contributes a pretty story to the Catholic's Library of Tales. "Aunt Marcia's Conversion" will be found to be neither of the goody-goody order, nor of the controversial class of books that repel by their dryness. The characters are well drawn, and the plot though simple leads the reader onwards and interests him to the very close of the heroine's story.

"The Priest of the Eucharist: A sketch of the life of the Very Rev. Peter J. Eymard, Founder of the Society of the Most Holy Sacrament," is the unwieldy title of a fascinating book by Lady Herbert. The price of the book is only sixpence, but we know of few works that would be more helpful and acceptable to a student in our seminaries or to our priest on the mission.

"Christian Arguments." By J. Herbert Williams, late Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Price 1s. The author of this well-thought-out and ably-written essay is of opinion that the chief obstacle to the progress of the Catholic faith in this country lies in the widespread disbelief in all objective religion, or indifference in regard to it. Mr. Williams sets out, therefore, to vindicate the *exclusive* claim of Christianity; to display it as being not merely one of other theological expressions, but the one and only religion existing for our consideration; and then, further, to discover for it an historical name and consequence commensurate with such an exclusive claim. The author establishes his thesis without giving offence: his reasoning is close and cogent, his language restrained and courteous.

"Rosary Meditations." By the Rev. J. B. Bagshawe, D.D. Price 1s. This well-digested book comes in time for May, when the Psalter of Mary will form the theme of so many devotions and sermons. After

a valuable preface on the advantages of the rosary and the conditions required for obtaining the great indulgences attached to its devout recitation, the author supplies us with a brief meditation for our every "Our Father" and "Hail Mary." Though these meditations, short as they are, cannot be made in the time taken by these prayers, they afford matter rich and varied which those who say their beads frequently will know how to turn to spiritual profit. Under the light of Canon Bagshawe's beautiful musings the rosary becomes an illuminated Book of Hours, full of colour and life and resplendent with gold. It is an excellent manual of May devotions, and a complete commentary on what may well be called the Breviary of the Laity.

De l'Église et de sa Divine Institution. Par D. A. GRÉA.
Paris : Société Générale de Librairie Catholique. Pp. xxii.-518.

THIS fine octavo volume, the production of an Abbot belonging to the Order of the Canons Regular, reminds us of those classic works which have brought Amart, Trombelli, and other canons regular such a high reputation for solidity and erudition.

The plan of the book is admirably traced in a letter addressed to the author by his Eminence Cardinal Perraud :

In the purely theological part of your work [writes the eloquent Bishop of Autun] you have made a happy selection and arrangement of those New Testament texts which relate to the spiritual society founded by our Saviour. By thus focusing the light you enable us to see not only the external structure of the Church but even the most hidden workings of its organism and life. The deduction, simple at once and logical, which shows us the link immediately existing between the Church and the dogma of the Incarnation and through this dogma with the essential laws of the Divine Essence—this deduction has reached in your learned treatise to the assent-compelling force of a geometrical proposition.

In the canonico-historical part of your work the ripe learning of the old student of the "Ecole des Chartes" has brought to your dogmatic thesis the valuable support of numerous and decisive extracts from ecclesiastical law. These authorities help us to understand the economy of Church government and the relations which bind its parts closely together so as to form that hierarchy, at once manifold and one, which mirrors the ineffable order of the Blessed Trinity.

Lastly, the filial tenderness with which you speak of religious Orders and monastic Churches reminds those who have followed the development of God's designs in your regard, of the work to which you have consecrated your life—viz., the revival of the Institute of the Canons Regular—an institute so venerable, and standing at the point where the clergy, given to the external works of the ministry, meet that army corps which is more specially dedicated to perpetual prayer.

Abbot Gréa has provided the clergy and the laity with a book in

which they will discover a mine of theological wealth and an armoury providing them with weapons against the present-day enemies of truth and religion. Boundless admiration and deepest love for the "Bride of the Lamb" breathe in every page. For this reason we believe this book to be a most useful one for our times, when men are so jealous of their pretentious independence and so defiant in the presence of the supernatural. To borrow the words of the illustrious Bishop Mermillod, we are living in a time when even Catholics themselves do not always understand and love the Church. The sorrowful situation of this epoch, the interest of some, the petty devotions (*petites dévotions*) of others reduce and *neutralise* our Holy Church, which, being one with Christ, His *body* and His *fulness*, is with Him the first and last view of God in all our works.

Dom Gréa's book may be justly regarded as a magnificent commentary on the constitution *Pastor Æternus*, which is the finest fruit of the Vatican Council. Well understood it must prove a new and wide source of union, indissolubly attaching all the bishops of the world to the Pope, and all priests to their bishop.

An English translation that would open to Protestants the scriptural and historical treasures contained within this volume would help our separated brethren to entertain correct notions concerning the Church in which our Divine Redeemer lives and dispenses the fruits of salvation.

L'Année de l'Église. Par Ch. EGREMONT. Paris: Victor Lecoq. 1898.

IT was an excellent idea of the author to present Catholics with an annual summary of the joys and sorrows, labours and struggles of the universal Church militant. At one *coup d'œil* we grasp the situation of Christ's kingdom on earth; we see the Church our mother's line of march, and note what help she expects from her loyal and generous children. The Communion of Saints becomes, after such a view, a more living and effective article in our creed. Beginning with the acts of the Holy See and the relations between the Pope and all spiritual and civil Powers, this book treats of the progress of religious life throughout the world. The position of ecclesiastical affairs and all events bearing upon the expansion or maintenance of the faith in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, are set forth clearly and succinctly. We hope this first volume will have many successors. The work is extremely handy and supplies a long-felt want.

The World's Unrest and its Remedy. By JAMES F. SPALDING.
London: Longmans.

THE author supposes that the world's unrest arises from a desire to find an answer to the complicated question, What and where is the genuine religion of Jesus Christ? His book is intended to point out that one organisation which can satisfy the earnest seeker after truth. Besides the usual arguments to be found in those modern controversial writers who have discussed the subject *De Ecclesia*, Mr. Spalding has some excellent chapters on "The Place of the Blessed Virgin in the Catholic System," "How the Church treats Sin," and "The Saints, and our Relations to them." We can particularly recommend chapters xix. and xx., where "personal obstacles" or stumbling-blocks in the path of an inquiring non-Catholic are enumerated and their remedies suggested. The remarks about preaching and Catholic journalism are strongly yet respectfully worded. The book ought to do good.

Father Antony. By ROBERT BUCHANAN. London: John Long.
8vo, pp. 283.

IT may be a sign of the times that within late years some of the leading novelists of the day have in not a few instances chosen Catholic men or women as the chief figures on their canvas, and have shown in their treatment of them a singularly intelligent and sympathetic appreciation of the depth and beauty of certain features of Catholic life. One of the most recent and one of the most pleasing additions to literature of this kind is "Father Antony," by Mr. Robert Buchanan. The story is a simple one, but simple not in the sense of thinness, but rather in the sense that its outline is bold and well marked, its characters are lifelike and well defined, and the author has not obscured one or the other by unnecessary shading. The scene is laid in the West of Ireland—the far wild West with all its charm and that strangely pathetic combination of, on the one part its wide expanses of inland sea and low undulating moorland so weird in its absolute dreariness, and on the other its intensely Celtic people, so full of throbbing life, imagination, heart and feeling, and all the elements that make up the romance of existence. Mr. Buchanan has not, like Miss Jane Barlow in her charming "Grania," gone out into the Atlantic-swept islands off the coast, but has remained on the borderland of Sligo and Mayo, and the picture he presents is so far all the more representative of the life and character of the western population. The tale which he has to tell, and which he tells in a

[No. 30 of *Fourth Series*.]

way which never allows the interest of the reader to flag for a moment, turns upon the faithfulness of a young priest in keeping the seal of the confessional. Here the theme is a graceful variant of that which Lover had rendered almost classic in the days of our grandfathers, when he described the good Irish priest, "six feet in his stockings!" who received the confession of the murderer of his brother, and kept so well the seal of silence which God had set upon his lips. In "Father Antony" the brother of the priest is not the person murdered, but the person accused of murder, and the test is all the more crucial. Mr. Buchanan, like Lover, has come to know the Catholic Church and the Irish priesthood too well not to feel that anything but stern faithfulness to the secrecy of the seal would be false to art because false to fact. His readers consequently have not to put up with any of the maudlin nonsense of the "Village Priest," with its rays of light falling forsooth on a page of a Bible and inspiring a confessor to a shameful betrayal of his most sacred obligations—a sop thrown to the emotional wish-to-believe of a Protestant public. Father Antony is faithfulness itself, and if we have any fault at all to find with Mr. Buchanan's book it would be that he has, if anything, somewhat overworked his theme. Where so much is so admirably described, and where a tale of thrilling interest is told with such rare and sympathetic insight into the fascinating world of the Celtic soul, it seems almost invidious to point out what seems to us at least to savour of defects of construction. Mr. Buchanan's characters are Catholics, and his story turns upon a matter which lies very close to Catholic life and conscience. He writes as an outsider—if we may use so cold a word—and he will have learned in Ireland that the fact only lends a greater value to his picture, and makes his appreciation doubly welcome. Yet it remains true that the standpoint of Catholic faith is the best key to the perspective of Catholic life and character, and consequently to literary and dramatic truth in their portraiture and description, and that between this and the point of view of even the most sympathetic non-Catholic there is apt to be an angle of divergence which here and there almost necessarily affects the accuracy of the outline. Let it be said at once that in Mr. Buchanan's case, thanks to his knowledge of Ireland and the intuitions of his sympathy, the needed correction for parallax is marvellously small, and we feel that in singling out certain points we fully run the risk of being ungenerous as well as hypercritical.

Father Antony is the hero of the tale, and it is a good, though somewhat old-fashioned, canon of art that heroes have their privileges. One of these is that the hero may be real enough to have flaws in his

dramatic structure, but ideal enough to keep them out of the purview of the reader. Father Antony is an exceedingly beautiful character, and loyal even to death to the obligations of his sacred calling. But—could the author not resist the temptation?—Father Antony before his ordination has been in love, and even afterwards seems to be suffering from the after effects of the malady. Considered purely as a matter of dramatic art, the effect, which to certain non-Catholics has a certain piquancy, to the Catholic mind conveys a sense of bathos, or of besmirched ideal. No doubt there are good ecclesiastics like St. Augustine, or, in more innocent fashion, St. Paul of the Cross, who have passed that way. But to Catholic ears the notes jar unpleasantly, and the literary completeness suffers, very much as when we have described to us some gallant soldier who has won the Victoria Cross, we are told what, even if true, we do not wish to be told—that in his first battle he turned coward and ran away. A good priest, with all his faults, is a lovable ideal. A bad priest is a horror, and as such has his true place in literature. But a lovesick priest, like Jupiter in the measles, is undramatic, and about as nauseous a compound as an author can well put under the nostrils of his readers. Now we hasten to say that this art-sin is hardly visible on Mr. Buchanan's pages. Father Antony's affection for Eileen Craig is innocent, and kindled at a time when he was not yet an ecclesiastic, and the author's references to it are all in perfect good taste. One only feels that where the author has succeeded in depicting a priestly soul of such rare and pathetic beauty, it was more than a pity to introduce an unnecessary flaw in its lineaments. In history and in science we rightly insist upon seeing all round; and we cheerfully admit that realism (within limits of course) has its rights, provided it be representative (and not like Mrs. Humphry Ward's instance of fly-killing and sniffing of blown-out candles). But art is art, and the ideals have their vocation of fitness, so that if the vase has an undramatic crack in it, we prefer that that side shall be turned to the wall. Another point which we think partakes of the nature of a dramatic defect is that the author has made the sufferings of the young priest much too harrowing. If his distress were owing to the remains of the affection above mentioned, and its friction with his priestly office, we should have nothing to say except that a little more prayer and a little more work in another parish would have proved an all-sufficient remedy. If Father Antony's anguish were due to the fact that his well-beloved brother was lying in danger of the death-sentence for a murder of which he was innocent, all that Mr. Buchanan has said of it would be perfectly intelligible. But—unless we are mistaken—one gathers the

impression that the weight of the terrible agony which he endures is owing to the strain imposed upon the young priest by the fact that the real murderer has confessed to him, and he, as a Catholic priest, is obliged to observe secrecy, even if his innocent brother should go to the scaffold through his doing so. This, we take it, would be a departure from actual, and consequently from literary, truth. The keeping of God's secret, even in such a case, would not, we think, involve any extraordinary tension upon the mind of a priest, or throw him upon a sick-bed, or reduce him to a state of partial insanity. The chances are he would bear it in all with normal calmness and quietness, and have walked and talked and lived among men very much as usual. But that Father Antony should have felt all that is described and more, on account of his brother's awful position, is abundantly credible. We submit, however, that in actual fact, the hearing of the murderer's confession would add little or nothing to it, if it did not detract from it. If Mr. Buchanan will on this point consult a good confessor, we have no doubt that the latter will confirm our verdict. Two more observations, and we shall have done with our hypercriticism. Father John is made to observe that the work of a priest in those regions requires a man without a heart. We take leave to think that Father John as a priest, and an Irish one, would hardly have thought so or said so. A priest, like his Master, has not to suppress his heart—the more of heart he has the better for himself and his work. But he has to direct and discipline his heart, and keep it free for God and his people, instead of allowing it to be concentrated or absorbed by domestic ties or an inner circle. That is quite a different matter, and one which means not less but more of heart, and more of manly courage in the one who attempts it. Again, Eileen Craig, in reference to the danger through which her lover had passed, and to the keeping of the seal of the confessional, is made to observe that "there are secrets which ought *not* to be kept." We venture to think that a true-hearted Catholic Irish girl would have bitten her tongue out before she would have said so, and that she, much as she loved Michael Crean, would have felt nothing but loathing and contempt for a priest who would turn "informer" against his God, and purchase his brother's life by betraying God's secret. And now that we have had our ungracious say, and have chronicled our discovery of spots on the sun, we turn from these minute and accidental defects, if they are defects, and express our sincere gratitude to Mr. Buchanan for giving us a book of rare beauty and interest, and one which can be heartily recommended to every Catholic.

J. M.

Monasticism: What Is It? H. J. FEASY. London: Sands & Co. 1898. Pp. 280.

IT is not pleasant to pass adverse sentence on a book that is written with the best of intentions. Yet, beyond a word in praise of the impartiality and the industry of the author, it would not be easy to say anything in favour of this work. In a volume that professes to remove ignorance, and enlighten the minds of men about a great historical institution that has lived through centuries, and is still vigorous and healthy in these days, we might reasonably expect ordinary care and accuracy. Without these indispensable qualifications, the book is more likely to cause irritation and annoyance than to enlighten. Both care and accuracy, however, are conspicuous only by their absence in "Monasticism: What Is It?"

Ordinary care would have prevented such statements as that the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon was held A.D. 154 (p. 28); that "ascetic" is a *Seete*, a dweller in the desert of that name (p. 25, note 2); the ordinary derivation of the word, to say the least, is from *δοῦναι*, strain, or exercise. A careful writer would not have spoken of Saints Isidore and Augustine as the imitators of St. Columban (p. 48), or, as he is called here, St. Columba. Here is a sentence in which he is speaking of the age appointed for "the profession of virginity." "Bellamine (*sic*) put it at the age of puberty—fourteen in males, twelve in females; while Pope Gregory I. postponed the age till sixty!" (p. 137). What are we to think of this?—"The skins of animals in their natural condition, or tanned into a kind of rough leather, was (*sic*) an improvement on the primitive use of the fruits of the earth" (*sic*). . . . These "fruits of the earth" in which the desert fathers clothed themselves were apparently leaves and rushes! (p. 142). Then we have such carelessness as St. Frances Romana (137, note). Surely she should be called either St. Frances of Rome or S. Francesca Romana. Elsewhere (p. 62) our author talks of "the nailed-pierced feet of the crucified Saviour." Again of the monastic prisons he says: "It appears that this prison was quite dark, and that the refectory (*sic*) monk was not only secluded but chained" (p. 232). In a simple bit of Latin (p. 237) from Wilkins's "Concilia," there are five misprints in seven lines.

Many of these and similar mistakes might easily be corrected, but in order to make the book useful and readable it should be entirely recast, and reduced to something like order. The way in which the reader is made to dance up and down the centuries, and from one part of the world to another is quite sufficient to turn his brain unless

he keep strong control over himself. Let us take as an example the last page or two of Book II., which has for title, "St. Benedict, the Founder of Western Monasticism;" it extends over sixty-five pages, out of which barely one is devoted to St. Benedict, and has no subdivisions whatever. On page 116 he writes of a nun, the Prioress of Kirklees (Yorkshire), that she was skilful in physic and surgery, and that she is credited with having terminated the life of Robin Hood by bleeding him to death. He proceeds: "Talking of bleeding reminds us that to the Servite, Fra Paolo Sarpi, is ascribed the discovery of the circulation of the blood," &c. Then he harks back at once to Baldwin, Abbot of St. Edmundsbury in the eleventh century, who had a wide reputation for skill in medicine. He next informs us that Bernard Barlaam, a monk of Calabria, taught Greek to Petrarch; and that Galfridus "Grammaticus" compiled the first printed English and Latin dictionary at King's Lynn, Norfolk. We are then suddenly transported to the opening of the sixth century, and hear of an Egyptian monk, Cosmas, who composed a geography; we rapidly leap to the ninth and hear of an Irish monk in France who likewise was a geographer, and then to the twelfth, to be told of a monk of Bath, who translated Euclid. Then in the fifteenth century Nicholas of Lynn; a friar of Oxford, makes a voyage towards the North Pole, and Oliver of Malmesbury fractures his limbs by trying to fly. After a paragraph on libraries, and their formation by monks, with an example from Bristol, we are told of the diligence of a monk, named Piaggio, who discovered the method of unrolling Greek manuscripts unearthed at Herculaneum, and of the introduction in the sixth century of the method of dating years from the birth of Christ, due to a Scythian monk, who was also a Roman Abbot. Strangely enough, the Scythian monk introduces Dom Perignon of Hautvilliers-on-the-Marne, who in 1688 produced for the first time champagne. The Second Book ends with praise of the monks for their devotion to agriculture and viniculture. And all that in two pages and a half!

The book is printed in good type and neatly bound. It is dedicated to the Prior, Sub-Prior, and monks of Downside.

F. T. L.

L'Américanisme, d'après le P. HECKER. Mgr. D. J. O'CONNELL.
Paris: Lecoffre. 1897. Pp. 17.

WE have here a small pamphlet by Mgr. O'Connell, the former Rector of the American College in Rome, on the new school of thought that has risen to prominence in these days across the

Atlantic. It has been introduced into France by the French translation of the life of Père Hecker, the founder of the Paulists. The gist of this little publication, which was read at the Fribourg Congress last year (1897), is that the American Constitution is the finest in the world, and the state of the Church in that favoured region is the happiest possible under present circumstances.

F. T. L.

Arundel Hymns. Chosen and Edited by HENRY, Duke of Norfolk, and CHARLES T. GATTY. Part I. London: Boosey & Co.

Complete Benediction Manual. Edited by A. E. TOZER. Cary & Co.

70 Motets au Très Saint Sacrement. P. MÉDARD KAISER, C.SS.CC. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

THE first thing which strikes us with regard to the first instalment of the Arundel Collection is its virility—a virility which stands out in strong relief, despite many minor blemishes. We hardly know which to admire most, the judicious selection of the words themselves, or the excellence of the many old traditional tunes which form the chief feature of the book, and if we call attention to faults (which, after all, are more those of treatment than design) it is in no spirit of carping criticism, but because we would wish to see every blemish removed from an undertaking so admirably conceived, and so earnestly carried out.

In the first place, we should advise a rigorous re-editing of Mr. Walter Austin's tunes in future editions, the more so because their melodies show genuine musical feeling, and in many cases rise to real beauty. We are not among those who would pounce on "consecutives" out of sheer pedantry, since they can sometimes be used effectively (as for example on p. 8 in bar 1 of tune 2), but Mr. Austin constantly oversteps the limit which the most tolerant critic would allow him. In "Faith of our Fathers," for instance, his doubled sevenths are unpleasing, the consecutive octaves between lines 2 and 3 are quite unnecessary; while in "Jesu, the very Thought of Thee," the fifths between lines 4 and 5 are equally so, and the same beautiful tune is marred by ugly progressions in bars 6 and 10. We like very much his tune to "Ring Joyously ye Solemn Bells," but here again, he introduces ugly fifths in the last bar, which could easily be avoided, and disfigures bar 1 by a daring false relation.

We think it a pity, too, that Mr. Waddington was not commissioned to reharmonise the second tune to "Jesus, my Lord"; we should not

then have had the will-o'-the-wisp-like pedal part, the meretricious tag to the words "As I Ought," and the startling fifths between lines 3 and 4. The fine Cassinese tune to "Ave Maris Stella" might also with advantage have been arranged by him; the tune is a noble one, but the harmonies show the "prentice hand." Of the fifteen old Italian melodies included in the book, we prefer "Crown Him with Many Crowns"—a really superb tune, with quite a Handelian ring, "O Paradise," another masculine tune, very similar in character; the Cassinese "Ave Maris" and the melody "Sorrento" to the same hymn. This last is a tender little air hardly suited for congregational use, but sung, as the writer has heard it, by a well-trained choir of boys, the effect is exquisite. These fifteen tunes, as well as others in the book, have been harmonised by Mr. S. P. Waddington, and for his tasteful and musicianly work we have nothing but praise. Indeed the book, as a whole, is loftier in aim than any Catholic hymnal we have seen, and we trust it will be as widely used as it deserves. Our chief regret is that the metronomic pulse has not been reduced to a common standard. We know by painful experience how difficult it is to teach the amateur organist on small Missions that the duration of notes is relative and not absolute, and many vagaries of time may therefore be expected on pp. 11 and 12, for instance, where we have three tunes all really of the same rate of speed, but having the pulse (M. 88) represented in the first case by a crotchet, in the second by a quaver, and in the third by a minim. Nor do we like the clumsy device by which (in many tunes) the treble follows the words to a new line, leaving the other parts behind. We need only refer to p. 8, tune 1, line 3, as an example of what we mean. In the last bar we have a dotted minim in the treble as against two minims in the alto, and a semibreve in the tenor and bass. The remaining treble crotchet has a bar to itself on the next line, and a wide experience of our amateur organists leads us to say that nine out of every ten will *not* hold on the alto, tenor and bass notes, but will play that crotchet as it appears—viz., in all its splendid isolation. To some this may appear a trivial matter, and to musicians it would prove no difficulty at all, but since the book is intended for popular use, we cannot urge too strongly that needless stumbling blocks ought not to be placed in the way of the musical amateur of modest attainments who plays so large a part in our services.

Messrs. Cary & Co.'s "Complete Benediction Manual" is indeed the most complete and serviceable that we have yet seen, and the name of Dr. Tozer is a sufficient guarantee of the excellence of the editing. Bad harmony and crude progressions (so regrettably abundant in

Arundel Hymns) are here conspicuous by their absence. There are 100 litanies, and about 50 settings each of "O Salutaris" and "Tantum ergo," together with 13 arrangements of "Adoremus," and a short motet for meetings of the Apostleship of Prayer. Most of the old familiar Benediction tunes and litanies are included, but clothed in musicianly harmonies in place of the faulty ones to which we have been too long accustomed. Much of the new music reaches a high standard of excellence, and while the list of composers is too large to admit of quotation, we must make an exception in favour of Mr. Edward Elgar, who, amongst other music, contributes two charming settings of "O Salutaris."

We are curious to know, however, on what principle the Latin syllables have been divided. We are unwilling to fix the responsibility on Dr. Tozer, for in all his former musical publications we notice that he has adopted the common-sense rule of division, which secures the most perfect pronunciation of the component parts of the word; but here internal evidence would suggest that he has yielded (against his better judgment, we trust) to the blandishments of "The Ardent Cecilian"—that fussy entity who would have us believe that everything German is musically, liturgically, and philologically perfect; who, brushing aside unimportant people, such as, say, Kennedy or Roby, pins his classical faith to Pustet's foreman printer.

"Ad-oremus" is doubtless philologically correct, but how many choirmen would pronounce it properly in that form? "But"—we hear the Ardent Faddist say—"the editor is right; you *must* keep the component parts of a compound word distinct." That being so, we can only ask why he divides *exaudi* into *e-xaudi*! And further, if questions of musical pronunciation are to be entirely thrown overboard in favour of absolute philological accuracy, why stop at compound words; why not show roots and terminations? The truth is that musical authorities whose classical attainments no one calls in question, are content to divide, say, *adoramus* with the open sound for the first syllable, as witness the Latin music of our English Stanford and Parry, Dr. Haberl's editions of Palestrina, the Mechlin Plain Chant books, and the Cecilian publications of Witt, Stehle, Kaim & Co. We would rather see musicians sin in such goodly company than seek salvation under the ægis of the Ardent Faddist, whose classical monitors would seem to be the "sixpenny pamphlet," and Pustet's foreman.

Father Kaiser's volume is a collection of unpretentious pieces, some new, and some having been previously published for use in the *grand séminaire* at Versailles. If they do not show any great originality,

they are at least conceived in a dignified and reverent spirit, and for unison singing by a body of men's voices (with the organ sustaining the vocal parts, as suggested in the preface) many of them would be found effective. The two-part motets are the most disappointing; long successions of thirds become irritating after a time. Those in chorale form are the most satisfactory, being treated according to the best traditions.

Fair, Kind, and True. By JUNIUS, Jr. Scranton. 1896. Pp. 208.

THIS production is by the man who has apparently discovered, and unfolded to the world, "the secret or inner meaning of the Poems" (the Shakespeare Sonnets) which "has remained dormant for three centuries, and has never been understood by commentators or expounders." He hails from America. He says "it is a bold proceeding for a novice in literature to undertake a solution of this question" (p. 6), and we quite agree with him: but when he undertakes to prove from the Sonnets that, in the celebrated controversy as to the author of Shakespeare's plays, both the Shakespearians and Baconians were right, viz.: William Shakespeare was the nominal author, and Francis Bacon was the author in fact and truth of the dramatic works of William Shakespeare (p. 10), we are sure that it is not a wise proceeding for a novice in literature to undertake such a solution as that. If any one were to seriously attempt to master his argument, and follow out his proofs, he would probably at the end be reduced to the same condition of mind as Junius, fr., and be ready to believe anything. He concludes this "final solution of the question of authorship of the complete works of William Shakespeare," by remarking: "In this new point of view and departure from old methods on this question, the writer knows he is in opposition to former writers; but, being convinced of the truth of the opinions he has adopted, and that in the long run the race is sure to find itself held fast in the grasp of eternal truth, this review is respectfully presented." With which ungrammatical and enigmatical sentence, we will take leave of Junius, jr.

F. T. L.

National Decay and "Romanism." By the Right Reverend Monsignor VAUGHAN. R. & T. Washbourne, 18 Paternoster Row, E.C. Pp. 39.

CERTAIN Protestant divines have recently been at pains to prove that Catholic countries, as compared with Protestant, are

deficient in material prosperity; and having, to their own satisfaction at least, established their contention, proceeded to draw therefrom the somewhat unexpected inference that the Catholic Church cannot possibly be the Church that was founded by Christ. The value of this most recent of Protestant arguments is discussed in the pamphlet which lies before us. As in the New Testament many warnings are uttered against riches, while no warnings are uttered against poverty, the writer of this pamphlet must have been somewhat tempted to argue that the possession of material prosperity is the accompaniment of a false rather than of the true religion. Such an argument would be, however, unsound from the points of view of both principle and fact, and Monsignor Vaughan is careful to exclude it. He does indeed point out that it is difficult to understand how those that profess to take their religion from "the Bible and the Bible only" can make material prosperity the test of a nation's faith, seeing that our Lord pronounced His blessings rather on the poor than on the rich. But, while pointing this out, lest he should be thought to argue that material *un*-prosperity was a mark of the true religion, he makes it abundantly clear that he is arguing *ad hominem* only, and employs such cautious wordings as: "Both in parable and in direct statement the Scriptures *seem* to lay down a precisely opposite [to the Protestant] doctrine"; and again: "*So far as* our Lord's words *bear upon* the subject *at all*, they *suggest* a diametrically opposite conclusion." But the truth is, as our author abundantly proves, that the material prosperity of a country has nothing whatever to do with the country's religion. Monsignor Vaughan argues (1) that to regard the material prosperity of a country as an indication of God's approval of the religion of that country is to charge God with inconsistency, seeing that not only Protestant, but Catholic also, and even Pagan nations have reached a very high standard of earthly prosperity and power. He shows (2) that as there have been prosperous Catholic countries in the past, so there are prosperous Catholic countries and provinces at the present day, and quotes in support of this contention some telling passages from a recent number of the *Spectator*. (3) He discusses the material prosperity of England, and shows (*a*) that it dates, not from the invention and introduction of Protestantism, but from the invention and introduction of *machinery*, and the application of steam as a motive power. To say machinery and steam, is to say iron and coal, and England is immensely rich in these minerals. (*b*) He points out that the present prosperity of England is not the prosperity of the people as a mass, and quotes the statement made by Mr. Chamberlain,

that England "has a million of paupers, and millions more on the verge of pauperdom." (c) He points out that what is grandest and best in England at the present day, its government, its trial by jury, its Magna Charta, its universities, its cathedrals, has come down to us from Catholic days. (d) He points out that even the material prosperity of England, as a nation, was greater in Catholic days than now, seeing that "the good things of this world were then more evenly distributed, and the extremes of wealth and indigence which now scandalise and shock us did not then exist." But for a fuller acquaintance with this excellent disquisition, which is the best that we know upon the subject, we must refer our readers to the treatise itself.

Meditation Leaflets. By a Father of the Society of Jesus.
 London: Burns & Oates. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago:
 Benziger Brothers. 1s. 6d.

IN this work of 115 pages, the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius are brought within the grasp even of those unaccustomed to formal meditation. It embraces almost everything required by the ordinary Christian, and is so arranged and simplified as to leave him nothing to do but to think. It is valuable also for priests who have the duty of weekly instruction, as each subject is put in such a form as to present the most desirable synopsis for a lecture. It is an exceedingly practical expansion of the *Exercises*, and we congratulate the good Father on the idea and its successful execution. Probably the poor will benefit most by the production, if the price be not above their means. But an external drawback of this kind is easily removed, and looking to the average cost of religious literature, we think it should be. As to the work itself, neither cleric nor laic will regret having secured a copy, seeing that a latent stimulus to make people *think* runs from the first to the last page. We cordially wish it a wide diffusion.

JN. M.

L'Homme Dieu. Etudes Doctrinales et Apologetiques sur Jesus Christ, Le Verbe Incarné. Par E. C. MINJARD, Missionary Apostolique. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette. Deux volumes in 12. Prix 7.00. 1897.

THIS work comprises four volumes, the two first of which are published, the other two being in the press. The gifted and

eloquent author's aim is to make known the person of Jesus Christ, and thereto he utilises the words and facts narrated in the Gospel. The first volume opens with the Eternal Genesis of the Incarnate Word, in which we have a profound and lucid explanation of the first portion of the first chapter of St. John. The Prophetic and Natural Geneses come next in order, and they are succeeded by a lengthened account of the perfections and prerogatives of Mary, and of the place reserved for her in the economy of the Redemption. A most interesting chapter is devoted to St. Joseph, in which his positions as husband, supposed parent, and guardian, with the various qualifications required, are detailed in a pleasing and instructive manner, that considerably raises our previous estimate of the great saint and protector of Mother and child.

The preludes of the Divine Mission, including the life, virtues, labours, and heroism of the Baptist, are delineated with a fascination of detail that follows the reader to the last page. The attributes of the Incarnate Word are portrayed with a light and an ease of comprehension rare in the handling of sacred matter of the kind. All through these breathes a fervent and unmistakable piety founded upon light, and it will indeed be a valuable treasure to any preacher who wishes to reach the heart through the head. We believe it can be largely utilised in that way, seeing that so much practical matter enters into this charming detail of the surroundings of the hypostatic union. The present two volumes will create, as they have done, a keen appetite for the last portion of the work which, we may safely predict, will be worthy of their predecessors. It is to be fervently hoped that the English translation will fall into competent hands, that is, that the translator will rise to the level of the author's intellect and piety, so as to give us the spirit that dominates the work.

A defect is found in the Scriptural quotations in which the chapter alone is given without the verse, thereby giving the reader the trouble of searching for it, when necessary. We think Father Minjard should not cause that inconvenience to his readers.

Looking at the whole portion of the work before us, we hail it for light and compactness as the latest valuable acquisition to the ecclesiastical library. Dogma, being fundamental at best, is more or less restricted, but around the doctrine of the Incarnation Father Minjard has raised a work of fascinating beauty of idea, and of rare structural solidity. The style is elevated and brilliant throughout, and at the same time easy of comprehension. Those who will read it will also say this notice falls short of its merits.

JN. M.

Light and Peace. Instructions for devout souls to dispel their doubts and allay their fears. By R. P. QUADRUPANI, Barnabite. Translated from the French, with an Introduction by the Most Rev. P. J. RYAN, D.D., Archbishop of Philadelphia, Pa. 1898. St. Louis, Mo. : B. Herder, 17, South Broadway.

WE cordially welcome this latest and carefully executed edition of the saintly Quadrupani's Instructions for Pious Souls, now under the title of "Light and Peace." After more than a hundred years in existence, and after passing through an unusually large number of editions in most of the European languages, it presents itself to-day with unimpaired unction, simplicity, and sweetness. The pious author must have had a large and intimate knowledge of the various trials, inclinations, vicissitudes, and perils that accompany the poor soul on its heavenward voyage, and every incident is met by the counsel and remedy suited peculiarly to itself. Besides the unction that lies in every line, the charm of the work appears to be its wonderful simplicity, its facility of practice, its profound knowledge of the wonderful ways of God in dealing with the soul on its journey homewards.

A French translator took the liberty of inserting additional matter at the end of each *Instruction*, under the title of "Additions," and the present English translator takes the further liberty of inserting these "Additions" in the body of the text, under the plea of convenience, and security of the connection of ideas. A feature that follows a justly celebrated work of any kind is the strict right it possesses to its own exclusive individuality. No degree of excellence of kindred matter, no advantages to the reader, no *ad libitum* fancy of a translator, can interfere with that sacred right. Hence it is that we have none of Wiseman's or Manning's great works interspersed with cognate selections from Newman, no "Paradise Lost" mixed up with stray similar ideas from Thompson's "Seasons," and we all know that we owe the authenticity of the *Æneid* to the imperial command of a Cæsar, which forbade the alteration of a letter in the MS. of the great poet, or even the completion of his few unfinished hexameters. It is at the very least an impropriety, which even the saintly author's attachment to the great St. Francis de Sales can by no means justify. If the practice of interpolation of kindred matter from other writers were to become universal, into what a chaos would our libraries be turned. We do regret that we have not in the volume before us the work alone, pure and simple, of Father Quadrupani, and if we wanted to have anything from the great Bishop of Geneva, his writings are

easily within reach. We admit the reader may and certainly will derive much advantage from the present work as it stands, but, at the same time, we respectfully insist that the Chevalier du Chambon de Mesilliac and I. M. O'R. should respect the author's labours and reputation, and the just sensibilities of the millions who admire and love Father Quadrupani. We must conclude with the heartfelt prayer that a copy of this inestimable work may reach every Christian fireside.

JN. M.

A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age. By A. C. McGIFFERT, Ph.D., D.D., Washburn Professor of Church History in the Union Seminary, New York. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Pp. xii. 680. Price 12s.

THIS is a work that will attract the attention of all students of early Church History. It is the only book we know of, written in English, which covers quite the same ground. The author is evidently learned, painstaking, and of considerable critical skill. We would venture to say that the book might be considered *the* authority on the subject, if it were not spoiled by two great defects. The first is the almost naturalistic theory, insinuated rather than advanced, in the opening chapters, to account for the origin and development of Christianity. The second is an essentially unsound theory as to the authorship of the Acts, which is the principal document for the history of the period.

The author begins in this way :

In attempting to explain historically the origin of Christianity, it is necessary to take into account two factors : on the one hand Judaism, in the midst of which Jesus of Nazareth was born and bred, and whose influence he felt throughout his life ; on the other hand, his own unique personality (p. 1).

The second clause is absolutely necessary to Dr. McGiffert, for he is inconsistent enough to attribute superhuman powers to our Lord, and to cast no doubt on the Resurrection and Ascension. But that the expression "unique personality" is adequate to sum up all this, will scarcely be conceded by any logical thinker. The development theory of the writer must be distinguished from the Catholic theory of the evolution of dogma. It is often akin to folk-lore as it is expounded by Mr. Grant Allen or Mr. Clodd. The "sources" are all we are to judge by, we are told on one page, while on another we find them interpreted by conjectures of a hardy, though always interesting,

type. These conjectures are substituted for what we should describe in general, as "tradition," in the theological sense. Hence we find that

In earlier centuries the prophetic hope of a better time to come had reference only to the nation as a whole. . . . But in the period succeeding the exile . . . the desire arose of sharing in the promised blessings which were ere long to be poured out upon God's people. The result was the development of belief in the resurrection of pious Israelites, in order that they might enjoy the felicity of the Messianic age. And with the belief in a resurrection went naturally hand in hand the expectation of a judgment by which should be determined the future of each individual (p. 5). The belief became increasingly common that there would be a resurrection of the wicked as well as of the good (p. 6).

Just at this juncture appeared John the Baptist. Instead of recognising the humility of the Precursor, Dr. McGiffert finds in his words an evidence of his want of sense of a distinctive mission. This leads to interpreting Luke vii. 19, Matt. xi. 2 as if the Baptist did not know of Christ's messiahship. Whereas the passages can be easily taken to mean that either (i.) St. John was wavering in faith, or (ii.) in patience, or (iii.) had simply sent his two disciples on a mission designed to confirm *their* faith. And as St. John is represented in John i. and Matthew iii. as having already recognised Jesus as the Messiah, the consequence, according to our author's conjecture, is that these passages are not historical (p. 11).

Of our Lord we are told that "How and when this epoch-making conviction (that God was His father) came to Him, it would be idle to conjecture." As to whether He foresaw His "execution" from the beginning, we are referred to Haupt who affirms and Wendt who denies! But we have said enough to justify our animadversion on the first head. Happily this style of thing will not commend itself to our English critics, either Protestant or Catholic.

There is not enough space at our command to give fully the reasons for our entire disagreement with Dr. McGiffert as to the authorship of the Acts, or of the inconsistencies which we have noted in his train of argument. Nothing as yet has emerged into sound critical consciousness, which is opposed to the usual ascription of the authorship of the third Gospel and the Acts to one individual, and that individual St. Luke. Of writers of to-day who have made a special study of the subject, we can safely follow the opinions of Professor Ramsay, Dr. Blass, or Dr. Belser, the Professor of Catholic Theology at Tübingen, to whom the unity of the authorship and the genuineness of the ascription to St. Luke become increasingly clear.

As an example of Dr. McGiffert's inconsistencies it will suffice to quote his remark on the episode of St. Paul's interview with Sergius

Paulus at Paphos (Acts xiii.), and compare it with other judgments of the American Professor; "the author of the Acts, with the instinct of a true historian, evidently felt its significance" (p. 176). Again (p. 257), "It is clear that he was keenly alive to the dramatic possibilities of the position in which the Apostle found himself placed" at Athens. Yet the compiler who, on the theory that he is not St. Luke, is only quite trustworthy when he relies on "older documents," refrains from doing as he has done in his description of the Paphian interview, and exhibits no feeling of "historical" significance and "dramatic" character of the Athenian episode, but keeps closely to an "older document." In fact, the use of the "source" theory in Dr. McGiffert's hands has led him to invest the supposed compiler with every conceivable attribute from the greatest literary ability to the densest stupidity. Lest our strictures on this point should seem too strong, we would like to mention that they are mild compared to those of Professor Ramsay, who goes so far as to say that the American Professor has almost suggested a theory, that "the Acts is the rejected examination paper in history of some lazy candidate for matriculation in an ancient university."

When we have made clear our disagreement with two of the author's views, we are compelled to pay him a tribute for his learning, skill, and power of investing an entangled subject with very great interest to his readers. How much we wish that we had such a history in English, by a competent Catholic scholar. How long are we to be compelled to resort for such knowledge, delivered within a reasonable compass and in inviting manner to scholars who, however great their learning and acumen, are wanting in a sound philosophy of the development of the Christian Church and Christian doctrine? Have the professors in our theological seminaries libraries at their command adequate for the pursuit of such studies? Although we cannot recommend this "History of the Apostolic Age" for the use of young students, we think the teacher will find much in it to help him to illustrate the period it covers. He will even find in it support for the true doctrine of development. The author, for example, tells us (p. 45), that it was not the Twelve who were at the head of the Church of Jerusalem, but "Peter alone, or Peter and John," in the earlier years (p. 47); Peter was "pre-eminent," "the leading figure in the Church of Jerusalem." And more strongly (p. 48), "Peter became in a sense the second founder of the Christian Church, and the prophecy of Christ, that upon him he would build His Church, found literal fulfilment." The last chapter is entitled "The Developing Church," and ends with a commentary on the Epistle of St. Clement, from which

we gather that Dr. McGiffert fully understands that the Pope assumed responsibility for the settlement of a "sister Church's difficulties." He sees in it already foreshadowed the future greatness of the Church of Rome, and the "resoluteness of purpose with which it entered upon that development in which it has always led the world." In a footnote he suggests that St. Clement did not originate the principles enunciated in his epistle, but gave utterance to a belief already recognised at Rome, and by many even in Corinth. And the book closes with the remark that already—before the close of the first century, that is to say—was foreshadowed "the rise of Catholicism." We would like to add that throughout the work there are to be found many sound and sometimes original proofs of the genuineness and authenticity of nearly all the books of the New Testament, of which it is quite well worth while to take note.

E. N.

Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ. Commentarius in Evangelium Secundum Joannem. Auctore JOSEPHO KNABENBAUER, S.J. Parisiis: Sumptibus P. Lethielleux, ed. 1898.

FATHER KNABENBAUER is much to be congratulated upon the completion of his commentary upon the four Canonical Gospels; and it may be said with truth that his latest contribution to the great Jesuit *Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ* in no way falls short of the high level of excellence already attained by the earlier volumes. It is a trite remark to make that a vast number of commentaries upon the Holy Gospels have appeared within the last few years, many of them of undoubted value. But there is a warmth and piety pervading Father Knabenbauer's pages which we look for in vain in nine-tenths of the publications of the day. Nor does the work lose anything in scholarship on this account. On the contrary, the author displays a thorough knowledge of contemporary Biblical literature; and his extracts from the Fathers are admirably selected, tending in most cases to elucidate the literal and historical meaning of the text, whilst not altogether neglecting the more hidden mystical sense. On this point, if we may venture to say so, we are especially gratified to find the decided prominence given to the admirable commentary of the Jesuit Maldonatus.

Father Knabenbauer enters at some length into the question of the authorship of the fourth Gospel, and we do not think he has any reason to be dissatisfied with the cogency of his arguments, or the thoroughness of his defence of St. John's claims. It cannot fail to be gratifying to Catholics to notice how the hostile critical school has

been steadily driven back from the late date they deemed it at one time necessary to attribute to the Gospel till they now place it at a time not so far distant from that usually defended in Catholic textbooks. In fact, no scholar, with a reputation to lose, would again venture to connect the years 160-170 with the composition of our Gospel; though it is not so long ago since Bauer, Scholten, and others defended such a view.

We must not, however, be supposed to be making little of the objections raised against the Joannine authorship, especially those which are based upon the apparent dissimilitude between the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel. We readily acknowledge the existence of difficulties, and serious difficulties. But if there are differences between the two works, it must not be forgotten, as Father Knabenbauer well shows, that there are remarkable resemblances, too; and, for our part, after carefully weighing the evidence, and taking into account the decisive voice of history, or, if you will, tradition, we do not think that in the end a sound criticism will fail to pronounce in favour of St. John's claims. We quite agree with the statement of Dusterdieck—who himself, whilst denying the Joannine authorship of the Apocalypse, admits it in the case of the Gospel—that theological bias has entered largely into the discussion of this question; and we have little doubt that it is the Catholic side which suffers most from this intrusion of theology into a purely historical question. Indeed, some of the most ardent advocates of historical methods, such as Holtzmann, are, in this matter, driven to adopt a most risky allegorical system of interpretation, so as to be able plausibly to deny the authorship of St. John.

Father Knabenbauer enters fully into the difficulties raised against the unity of authorship of the Apocalypse and the Gospel. We do not propose to follow the course of his argument. But perhaps, with many readers, the fact that such an independent and competent critic as Harnack attributes the two works to one writer will not be without its weight. It is true the writer to whom he refers is not John the Evangelist, but John the Presbyter. But that does not alter the significance of his opinion. The important point is that Harnack makes little of, in fact rather laughs at, the objections of the critical school against the unity of authorship of the Gospel and Apocalypse, and on this point openly pronounces himself to be a critical "heretic."

There are two arguments, hardly touched on by Father Knabenbauer, which deserve, perhaps, more notice. One is the lapse of time that intervened between the composition of the Apocalypse and of the Gospel—a period probably of thirty years. Surely, during

that time the much-talked-of impetuosity of St. John's character might well have abated. Well might we expect a far greater difference between his two publications (especially since the second was the work of his extreme old age), that we find, *e.g.*, between the "Paradise Lost" and the "Paradise Regained." Nor must it be lost sight of that St. John's knowledge of Greek would have gone on increasing, living as he was in the midst of a Greek-speaking people.

The other argument is based upon the fact that the Apocalypse forms but one volume out of many which made up a regular Apocalyptic literature.* That literature had a regular style of its own, with marked Hebrew characteristics. Is it not likely, therefore, or rather certain, that many of the traits of the Apocalypse which are contrasted with the style of the Gospel are peculiarities, not of St. John, but of the kind of literature to which the Apocalypse belongs?

I need not dwell upon the details of the commentary. Father Knabenbauer's style is already well known to, and appreciated by, our readers. Suffice it to say, the learned Jesuit has the faculty of clear and lucid exposition, and the still rarer gift of knowing how to interest his readers. One of the difficulties to be faced by the commentator on St. John is the harmonisation of the fourth Gospel with the Synoptists. As an illustration of the skilful and natural way in which our author accomplishes that part of his task, we recommend his treatment of the appearances of our Lord after the resurrection.

The text followed is eclectic, much weight being accorded to Westcott and Hort. We note that, whilst defending the Joannine authorship of the *pericope de adultera*, the writer adds, "*eam autem ab ipso Joanne esse scriptam, non est ullo modo definitam.*"

We do not pretend to deal adequately with this most recent publication of Father Knabenbauer. But perhaps we have said enough to mark our appreciation of its worth. This we say without hesitation—it deserves careful study, not merely on the part of Catholics, but of others desiring to know and love St. John's Gospel more. We wish the work every success, and hope before long to be able to congratulate the learned author upon the publication of yet another volume.

J. A. H.

* This fact has no bearing on the Inspiration of the Apocalypse.

The Science of Spiritual Life according to the Spiritual Exercises. By FATHER CLARE, S.J. New and enlarged edition. London and Leamington : Art and Book Company. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 1898.

FROM the fact that a second edition has so soon been required, we may conclude that Father Clare's book is successfully fulfilling the purpose for which it was written. In the present edition it is considerably enlarged—some two hundred pages in all having been added. The author mentions that he has taken advantage of suggestions made to him from various sources as to the explanation of some instructions which by their too great conciseness and brevity might have been open to misapprehension, and also as to the development of what are merely points in the Spiritual Exercises, for the benefit of those who are less advanced in the contemplative method of prayer. There are also further exercises on the Passion of our Lord, as well as some on practical matters concerning daily life.

Finally, the appendices have been made more complete, and a fourth one has been added. This last consists of various plans of dividing the exercises, so as to make them suitable for Retreats of four or eight days—each day being provided with subjects for three or four Meditations, a Consideration, and matter for Spiritual Reading. These plans would be very useful to persons wishing to make a short Retreat by themselves.

J. H.

Notes on Mediæval Services in England, with an Index of Lincoln Ceremonies. By M. WORDSWORTH, M.A. London : Thomas Baker. 1898.

THIS book is really made up of three parts, not two only, the notes on "Parochial Services" (p. 56 *seqq.*) being of a different character from the chapter on "Cathedral Services" which precedes it. This first chapter is a view of the daily round of services in a cathedral church in mediæval England, gathered from the fragmentary materials, ceremonials, statutes, and so forth, still extant. The account is well done ; there is nothing like it elsewhere ; it is interesting ; and a verification of the statements in various sections with the sources has shown it to be accurate. Canon Wordsworth finds that the "table" he draws out (pp. 44-45) "for services in Lent" at Salisbury differs in some slight particulars from one already drawn out by me. So far as I can understand the case, I should say that the question whether

any difference exists at all depends on the scholastical determination of the following *dubium*: is p. 50 (= 51) said after the Sext to be regarded as a *Miserere* or the fourth of the Penitential Psalms?

The second part (pp. 56-102) is very miscellaneous reading, and ranges somewhat promiscuously over the centuries. The conclusions at which the reader should arrive would seem to be these: "Matins and Mass quite early, and Evensong after an early dinner, once a week, *i.e.*, on Sundays, was (in the fourteenth century) reckoned to be good, sufficient, church-going"; that, "so far as public and congregational recitation of the Divine Office went," the standard of the later years of the seventeenth century in England differed "but little from the general practice of mediæval times"; and that whilst "the Mass, no doubt, was in many places very *frequently* offered," yet "in some places not more than three times; in *others* hardly once a week, but only on occasional Sundays." It is enough to have thus exposed the points of this section.

With Part III., headed "An Account of Some Old Lincoln Customs and Ceremonies, with Notes on the Dedications of Altars and Chapels in Lincoln Minster, alphabetically arranged," Canon Wordsworth finds himself on familiar ground; all kinds of curious and authentic information can be read here, and this glossary will be found useful. The author has an eye for *rapprochements* between mediæval and modern times; take, for instance, the following under "Pillius, or Pileus, a cap": "The celebrant at the high altar (at Lincoln) put down his cap at *Gloria in Excelsis*, and it was handed to a boy (as the Canon reading a lesson in the choir at Westminster hands his cap to the verger)." It is not stated, however, whether the verger gets "a fee or *pour boire*, 'vinum' of 1½d." as the boy had at Lincoln in the old days.

The book is very nicely got up and printed.

E. B.

L'Évolution et le Dogme. Traduit de l'Anglais par l'Abbé J. FLAGEOLET. 2 Vols. Paris: Lethielleux. 1897. Pp. 341, 313. Price 7fr.

AS Father Zahm's "Evolution and Dogma" has been repeatedly noticed at length in the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW, it only remains for us to welcome the appearance of the work under a new form. The translator has performed his task with scrupulous and persevering fidelity. And one cannot but regret that his ability to deal with the subject of the book has not been more frequently dis-

played in its notes. In the course of the text of the first volume he has appended but four notes. In one he explains the text on the question of the struggle for existence (p. 300); and in the other three he suggests modifications of the views of the author (pp. 176, 272, 287).

The translator has, however, allowed himself greater liberty in an Appendix, where we meet with four notes covering some thirty closely printed pages. The first deals with the subject of the fertilisation of flowers, and in particular with the case of the *Corydalis cava*, instanced by Father Zahm. In note B, the translator discusses the views of his author on *Artemia Milhausenii*, *Artemia salina*, and *Branchipus*. These changes of form were instanced by Zahm as "a tangible instance of the transmutation of species" (p. 295). But M. l'Abbé Flageolet takes a different view, for he writes: "Je ne pense pas qu'aucun évolutionniste soit convaincu, à propos de cet exemple des *Artemia*, que l'on a enfin mis la main sur un cas authentique de la transformation d'une espèce en une autre" (p. 320).

It may also be noted that Wallace, in his "Darwinism," holds the same opinion of the indecisiveness of the cases brought forward with so much confidence by Father Zahm. "Why, and how," he says (p. 428), "the external effects are limited to special details of the structure we do not know; but it does not seem as if any far-reaching conclusions as to the cumulative effect on the external conditions on the higher terrestrial animals and plants can be drawn from such an exceptional phenomenon." Notes C and D, on Sexual Selection and the differences of opinion among leading Evolutionists, are well worth careful study.

In Volume II. there are no extensive additions. But at p. 193 the translator implicitly conveys his dissent from Father Zahm, where the latter subscribes to the statement of Huxley ("Evolution and Dogma," p. 330). At p. 244, he reminds the reader that the work of Père Leroy, which is referred to in the text as advocating the probability of the simian origin of man, has since been placed on the Index.

The printer has spoiled the Hebrew word Vol. I., p. 63. The translator follows his original in quoting the first part of the Summa as I. Iae and De Potentiâ. q. iv. art. 2. 28m. It might, we think, have been reasonably expected that a French translator would have supplied the references to Buffon, Cuvier, and Pascal. It would have been well also to have corrected the reference to Seneca, "De Beneficiis," L. IV. c. i., and to have given the reader a more adequate citation in place of "Natur. Quæst." Lib. II.

H. P.

Christian Philosophy: A Treatise on the Human Soul. By the Rev. JOHN T. DRISCOLL, S.T.L. New York: Benziger Bros. Pp. xiii.-269. 1898. Price 1*dol.* 25*c.*

WE accord a hearty welcome to this work of an alumnus of the Catholic University of America. It bears upon every page the stamp of intellectual activity, discretion, and vigour. An American philosopher might surely be expected to be abreast of his age, and the author of this little treatise has given us no cause for disappointment on the ground of failing to be in contact with his age. Whatever the main title, "Christian Philosophy," may suggest, the precise subject of the work is one portion of the science of Christian Philosophy, that, namely, which deals with the soul of man. The author treats of the soul as a substance, not of the soul as active in mind and will; and we are of opinion that he is to be commended for his choice. Many students who are sufficiently informed concerning the operations of mind by the study of psycho-physics, and so forth, will be thankful to meet with a readable statement of the Catholic position on the being and nature of the soul, together with a fair presentation and criticism of adverse views. This is precisely what our author has provided for his readers, among whom he hopes to number the "American student" to whom his volume is "respectfully and affectionately inscribed." The titles of most of his chapters are necessarily as old as philosophy—The Soul, its Substantiality, Simplicity, Spirituality, Immortality, Personality, Materialism, Soul and Body, Origin of the Soul, Pantheism. The chapters on Positivism, and Brain and Mind, deal with subjects strictly modern. The whole treatment is alive with interest. The works of Aristotle, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas are laid on the table for us as guides, but the spirit of the discussion is sustained for the most part by men of the nineteenth century, from England, Germany, France, and America. Hume, Locke, and Descartes are present, it is true, but in the main lines of the discussion they are silent.

The method of exposition adopted throughout the book is uniform. The history of the question is given in brief; doctrines are stated, generally in extracts sufficiently copious from the works of their propounders; arguments are brought forward in their support; and, finally, a criticism of the arguments is supplied, or the proof of the doctrine held by the author is worked out. We have invariably found the criticisms both clear and forcible, and the proofs employed entirely satisfactory. No student of philosophy should experience serious difficulty in comprehending the various systems as they are brought before him in the carefully arranged order of this treatise;

nor will he fail to seize in a moment the position adopted by the author in face of the error he is combating. If the author is still an alumnus of the University, the work does him great credit; and we unhesitatingly believe that this is a book which will be found useful by the professor as well as by his students. The writer lays no claim to originality, his aim being simply to present our accepted conclusions in an intelligible form to the "ordinary students of our schools and colleges." We regret, however, to be obliged to state one ground of complaint against the Rev. J. T. Driscoll, namely, the negligence of his scholarship. While we rejoice not to have met with a single error in Catholic Philosophy in the text of his book, we are bound to call attention to the eccentricities of quotation that offend the eyes of the reader in the notes. Only two Greek words occur in the volume, of which neither has its accent, one is vitiated by a printer's error, and both occur in the very first line of the treatise. No account is taken of French accents. *Indifférence* is written *in-differance*; manual is spelt *manuel*. The Summa of St. Thomas is cited in a variety of ways. A familiar work is quoted as "Metaphy of the Schools." BI means Bk. I. Quant. de an II. 2; Man. of Buddhism; McCosh chty and Posit, ch. 4; are curiosities. Then we have Liberatori, Compte, Theatetus, Phaedros. We meet with Mr. Huxley, W. Huxley, Huxley; Mr. Mill, J. S. Mill, Stuart Mill. "Essays on Some Contra. [for controverted] Questions," James Prin. of Psychology. It is to be regretted that blemishes of this kind have been overlooked, for they diminish the merits of a book in other respects so excellent.

H. P.

A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century.

By JOHN THEODORE MERZ. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons. Vol. I. 1896. Pp. vii.-458. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THE task which the author has set himself, in the work of which the volume at the head of this notice is but the first instalment, is of a magnitude sufficient to daunt the bravest. The thirty years of preparation he has devoted to his object will scarcely be deemed excessive; nor ought we to be astonished that he has adopted the advice of publishing the result of his labours in successive volumes. The purpose of his work is to set before his readers in a systematic form the different lines of thought that have occupied the world during this century. His aim is "philosophical, in the sense now accepted

by many, and by divergent, schools—*i.e.*, it desires to contribute something towards a unification of thought" (p.v.). At page 4 he is afraid to offer a definition of what he means by "thought," but at page 33 he has gained courage to make the attempt, and tells us that

The word "Thought" seems to me to be capable of the widest application, and to denote in the most Catholic spirit whatever of truth and value may be contained in the combined aim and endeavour of all these modern aspirations.

Since the object of the book is in the main philosophical, it was only to be expected that so important a conception as that of philosophy should receive the attention that it deserves; but the definition at page v. is vague and provisional, and that at p. 65, "Philosophy may thus be defined as speculation carried on according to some clear method, and aiming at systematic unity," would apply to any of the abstract sciences. While on the subject of definitions, it may be as well to point out that there is something very obscure and unsatisfactory about the writer's definition of the term "religion," though we do not doubt that it is an expression of his personal convictions.

I use the word here in its original sense(?), and I propose to sum up in the term religious thought, the whole of the thought contained in that large volume of literature which does not submit to scientific and philosophical treatment, but which, nevertheless, forms so important an outcome of the mental life of the century (p. 69).

In this region "proof is almost impossible, and agreement refers always only to a certain number of persons." Its true character is "that it is individual and personal, whereas all scientific thought, whatever its origin may be, must be general and impersonal" (p. 70). "Popularly we can say that at the one extreme lie knowledge and certainty, at the other faith and belief" (p. 71).

To return to the whole purpose of the book. The author informs us that his project is to trace the history of the scientific spirit in France, Germany, and England, and next to show in detail the astronomical view of Nature, the atomical, and in a second volume, the mechanical, physical, biological, the statistical, the psycho-physical, and the development of mathematical thought in this country. This will conclude the first part of his subject. To the whole is prefixed an Introduction of eighty-five pages. All that could be reasonably asked for has been done to aid the attention of the reader, and to assist him in comprehending the enormous mass of details. Form,

type, binding, paper, marginal notes, footnotes, bibliographical references, leave no room for complaint on the part of the most fastidious critic. And we are glad to express our recognition of the value and remarkable erudition of the biographical sketches scattered through the volume in the footnotes.

The Introduction yields in interest to the rest of the volume. It could not, perhaps, have been dispensed with as a whole; it is the explanation of the aim of the author. And while there is in it much that is noteworthy, and the general purpose of the book is made clear, still, it would appear to us that a wise discrimination has not always been used as to what needed explanation and what did not. Its discursiveness, moreover, will certainly tempt not a few readers to pass it by, and begin at the second chapter, where the real interest of the book commences with "The Scientific Spirit in France." There we are shown how the scientific pursuits of France were inspired by Bacon and Newton, encouraged by generous allowances, adorned and commended to the world at large by the attractiveness of a polished and graceful literature. France had its Academy of Sciences as far back as 1671. At the close of the eighteenth century the French had their École Polytechnique, the École Normale Supérieure, and the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle. After a reference to the work of Laplace, the position and work of Cuvier are described with enthusiasm. He admits that France more than any other country has promoted the popularisation of science, if only at first "as a fashionable pursuit, a luxury of the great, a key that occasionally opened the door of the palace" (p. 143). We confess, however, to some disappointment on finding that for France, not the history of thought in the nineteenth century, but the history of thought in the eighteenth century is supplied us. Its history in the nineteenth is practically contained in the sentence:

In the first decades of this century the home of the scientific spirit was France; for though not born there, it was, nevertheless, there nursed into full growth and vigour. But it soon set out on its wanderings through other lands and nations (p. 155).

The feature of the chapter on Germany is the description of the university system, from which we take a quotation which appears to state justly what the universities have done for the Fatherland:

With greater pride it may boast of having trained in the course of centuries the largest and most efficient intellectual army, ready at any moment to take up and carry to a successful issue great scientific undertakings demanding the intense thought and labour of a few secluded students, or the combined efforts of a large number of ready workers. This army is scattered through the length and breadth of the land, and

even beyond its frontiers in neighbouring countries, wherever universities and high schools are situated (p. 161).

Some curious qualifications were required in the theological faculty by Von Münchhausen, the founder of the University of Göttingen :

He advises, above all, that the greatest care should be used in the equipment of the theological faculty. Accordingly, Münchhausen laid his eye upon men whose teaching led neither to "Atheismo" nor "Naturalismo," who neither attack the "*articulos fundamentales religionis evangelicæ*," nor introduce enthusiasm, nor yet evangelical popedom" (p. 165).

The chapter on "The Scientific Spirit in England" will, doubtless, be the most appreciated by the general reader. It is impossible to do more than refer to his account of the Royal Society, of our many pioneers in the various departments of science, and of the peculiar character of the English men of science—*i.e.*, individualism and isolation. In this connection he remarks that

No great master in scientific research in this country can point to a compact following of pupils, to a school which undertakes to finish what the master has begun, to carry his ideas into far regions and outlying fields of research, or to draw their remoter consequences. Newtonianism was a creation of Voltaire; the school of Locke is to be found in France; the best realisation of Bacon's schemes are the *Encyclopédie*, the French Institute, and the foreign academies. Dr. Young's discoveries in optics and hieroglyphics were made known to the learned world through his French contemporaries (p. 250).

We owe to the philosophic sense of the author the following appreciation of our English love of nature :

The study of animated nature, the observation of the sky and the heavens, have always been favourite occupations of Englishmen. The love of travels abroad and of the country at home has favoured a close intercourse with nature. A fickle and humid climate invited the superior skill of the agriculturist and the gardener, and rewarded him with heavier crops and more luxuriant verdure. The chill of the long winter stimulated active exercise and outdoor sport; the abundant rains, which fed the many rivulets with a constant supply of fresh water, suggested the cultivation of that pastime of which Izaak Walton had left a classical description long before Rousseau in France made the love of nature a fashionable sentiment (p. 284).

The last two chapters seem to call for no further remark than that they are full, minute, and contain in the notes much precious biographical information. We are grateful for the frank expression of a truth at p. 456, which, on account of its significance, we may be permitted to quote at length :

The atomic view is a hypothesis resting upon the fact that substances

combine in fixed and multiple proportions, and upon the further observation that bodies, both in the solid and liquid state, show different properties in different directions of space. But as to the nature of the differences of the elements, the atomic view gives no information; it simply asserts these differences, assumes them as physical constants, and tries to describe them by number and measurement.

The atomic view is therefore at best only a provisional basis, a convenient resting-place.

We deem it a duty to warn our readers of incidental errors, generally outside the precise subject of the text, which occur in various parts of the book. The author, it appears to us, shows a bias in the direction of Pantheism (p. 26), and materialism (p. 179). He rejects the vital principle in the living organism (p. 218); proclaims the search after ultimate causes to be practically hopeless (p. 383); he endorses the views of G. H. Lewes that "Mr. Spencer alone of British thinkers has organised a system of philosophy" (p. 48). We are unable to agree with his estimate of the position of Comte (pp. 19, 307). And what he says of philosophy is true, we do not doubt, of most of the current philosophies, but we cannot admit its accuracy with reference to philosophy properly so called. The statement we object to is the following:

As such (*i.e.*, as a definite theory, an explanation of a larger or smaller circle of phenomena) it (philosophy) forms a part of the thought of the century, probably the most interesting and fascinating part; but it is also that which is most liable to change, most subject to discussion (p. 62).

H. P.

Lectures in the Lyceum: or Aristotle's Ethics for English Readers. Edited by ST. GEORGE STOCK. Pp. xi.-379. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1897. Price 7s. 6d.

GILLIES, in his translation of the "Ethics" of Aristotle (1804), opens with a quotation from a letter written by the poet Gray to a friend, which will serve indirectly as the best possible commendation of the work here reviewed:

For my part [says Gray] I read Aristotle, his poetics, politics, and morals; though I do not know well which is which. In the first place, he is the hardest author by far I ever meddled with. Then he has a dry conciseness that makes one imagine one is perusing a table of contents rather than a book: it tastes for all the world like chopped hay, or rather like chopped logic; for he has a violent affection for that art—being in some sort his own invention; so that he often loses himself in little trifling distinctions and verbal niceties; and what is worse, leaves you to extricate yourself as well as you can. Thirdly, he has suffered

vastly from the transcribers, as all authors of great brevity necessarily must. Fourthly and lastly, he has abundance of fine uncommon things, which make him well worth the pains he gives one.

All this may be most true, in a sense, and in particular cases. And it was, doubtless, some such view as that which prompted St. George Stock to make the attempt which has resulted in the attractive volume before us. There have been translations of the Stagyrte of all degrees of merit; but it would not be easy to find a translator who has entered into the spirit and intention of the "Philosopher" in the way in which our author has done in his "Lectures in the Lyceum." He introduces his work to the reader with the modest expression of a hope

That it will prove useful to the Oxford student in his studies, perhaps even to the lecturer in his lectures, since the desire to be popular has not led the writer to shirk any difficulties. But its aim is to appeal beyond a merely academic audience to the wider circle of English and American readers, who may care to know something of the philosophy of Aristotle (p. v.).

But in his short preface he gives us no clue to the method he has adopted to secure his object. This we have had to discover for ourselves. He proceeds upon the supposition that the "Ethics" as we have them now, do not give us more than the dictates which the cultured eloquence of Aristotle made clear and living to his hearers. The first five books of the "Ethics" form the subject-matter of the "Lectures." They are rarely a mere translation, though there are close and beautiful renderings of the original on almost every page. The text is followed page by page and chapter by chapter. Sometimes the subject is treated in the form of uninterrupted exposition, at other times, and indeed most frequently, the form of dialogue is adopted, the speakers being "Aristotle; Theophrastus, his successor as the head of the Peripatetic School; Eudemus, a prominent disciple, author of the 'Eudemean Ethics'; Nichomachus, Aristotle's son, who died young, and whose name has been given to the 'Nicomachean Ethics.'" Occasionally, portions of the discussion are set out in the form of strict logical arguments, with a suggestive arrangement of the type, a plan which helps the reader to grasp the intricacy or closeness of thought more easily than he would have been able to do otherwise. Besides this, transitions are supplied in a remarkably felicitous manner, and additions inserted that serve to bring out the meaning of Aristotle, and give a literary completeness which we have found very charming. The only exception that occurs to us is the addition on p. 269, where Eudemus introduces the subject of humility. This appears to us to be ill-advised, and unless it be meant satirically,

would seem to be misleading. It should of course be borne in mind that the writer is depicting a pagan view of humility—*i.e.*, of something the pagan utterly fails to comprehend.

As a specimen of the author's manner, we will take Chase's translation of Book I. c. ii. ("Concerning the Chief Good") and our author's translation of the same passage.

Chase (p. 5):

So far as Name goes, there is pretty general agreement: for HAPPINESS both the multitude and the refined few call it, and "living well" and "doing well" they conceive to be the same with "being happy;" but about the Nature of this Happiness they dispute, and the multitude do not in their account of it agree with the wise. For some say it is some one of those things which are palpable and apparent, as pleasure or wealth or honour; in fact, some one thing, some another; nay, oftentimes the same man gives a different account of it; for when ill, he calls it health; when poor, wealth; when conscious of their own ignorance, men admire those who talk grandly and above their comprehension.

St. George Stock (p. 8):

As to the name of the Highest Good there is a pretty general agreement. For all men, whether vulgar or refined, are content to call it happiness; and if challenged to explain what they mean by being happy, they would probably employ the familiar phrase "to live well and do well." But at this point agreement may be said to cease. For if we go further into the matter, we shall find the utmost diversity of opinion, and the account of the nature of happiness which is given by the many will be very different from that of the wise. The former have a way of fixing upon some obvious and palpable feature of well-being, such as pleasure or wealth or honour, each according to his different temperament. But not only do the many differ from each other; they also differ from themselves. A man's notion of happiness is not merely a question of character and temperament, but also of changing conditions and circumstances. If he falls ill, he thinks happiness is health; if he is poor, he thinks it is wealth; if he is conscious of ignorance, he thinks happiness is knowledge, and so admires any one who talks big and above his head.

The tables that are here and there incorporated into the text will be found of much service. The paper and type, it should be added, are excellent. This is not the place to make an extract with the purpose of showing the appositeness of the additions that have been made in order to give literary fulness to the whole, but one more extract may be allowed with the object of illustrating a frequent device of treatment, which lends a charm to many passages of the text. The underlined sentences of the extract are an addition of the writer, the rest is a good rendering of the original:

Aristotle: That is well said. But when I speak of the voluntariness

of virtue or vice, you must understand me to mean that the virtuous or vicious man is a free agent, that there is no force acting upon him except what comes from his own nature—except, in fact, himself. If he knows the right and the wrong, it is as open to him to choose the one as the other. Where he can do, he can refrain from doing, and where he can say “No,” he can say “Yes.” Since, then, it is in our power to do right or to do wrong, and since it is doing right or wrong that makes us good or bad, it follows that it is in our own power to be virtuous or vicious.

Theophrastus: Does not Solon or somebody say:

“None’s wicked with, nor happy ’gainst his will”?

Aristotle: Your memory for once is at fault, Theophrastus. What the poet really said was—

“None’s wretched with, nor happy ’gainst his will.”

But, supposing he did say the other thing, I should simply reply that, the line was partly false and partly true. It is true enough to say that no man is unwilling to be happy; but a man’s wickedness is all his own doing (p. 179).

H. P.

History of Intellectual Development on the Lines of Modern Evolution. By JOHN BEATTIE CROZIER. Vol. I. Longmans, Green, and Co. London: 1897. Pp. xv. 538. Price 14s.

WHEN a book is sent for review, he to whom it is entrusted is bound first of all to view it as an intellectual product given to the world on its own merits. But should he be brought into personal relations of any kind with the writer, he is at liberty to disregard the estimate he has formed of the written volume, and concentrate his attention upon the personality of the author. In point of fact, we had already arrived at our judgment of Mr. Crozier’s production, and written the review when we began to peruse the Appendix. We were then fascinated by the interest of his personality, and the brief narrative he gives of his mental history. Of these two thoughtful chapters we confess that we can only regret that in early years the rational side of the writer’s nature was not educated together with its religious side, and the two wisely combined. Perhaps the truth may be that the religious side was never in any true sense educated, and that the philosophical side was considered to be altogether foreign to and possibly irreconcilable with the religious.

But to come to the substance of the book. After it has been said that in all material respects the volume here named has been made as attractive as possible; that it contains a series of chapters embracing most of what happened in the course of human thought from the beginning both in the East and West till the closing of the Philosophical schools at Athens by the Emperor Justinian in 529 A.D.; that when the substance of the volume is at length completed, there

is a long appendix in small print on Platonism and Christianity; that the reader is not distracted by more than a single footnote from the beginning to the end of this very bulky production; that at the beginning of each part there is a formidable array of authorities and guides, out of which we are able to identify some thirty-two as definite works, the remaining 136 being names merely, while in the course of the book there is no exact reference except to the texts of Scripture and the Epistles of St. Ignatius M.; we have given an idea of the general structure of the work. In the last paragraph of the present volume we are told that in the succeeding volumes the author

will treat of Mahommadanism, Mediæval Catholicism, the Revival of Learning, the Reformation, Modern Metaphysics, and Modern Science, with the Doctrine of Evolution; and will bring down the results of his long survey of Intellectual Development to bear on the great problems of to-day in Religion, Philosophy, Politics, Political Economy, and Sociology (p. 477).

There is throughout the book evidence of much reading in which only one aspect of events seems to have impressed itself upon the writer's judgment. In this sense his reading has been considerable if not exact. It is not necessary to dispute his claim to novelty. His plan has always been to get his original authorities, "and having steeped his mind in these, to reconstruct to the best of his ability some picture of it all, in his own way, and from his own point of view" (p. iii.). He has faith in a certain morality towards which development is somehow tending; but his conception of the Supreme Lawgiver on whom depends the binding force of all moral pronouncements is unhappily vague and indetermined. He is a man with a distinctly religious sense, though he nowhere attempts to classify his beliefs, possibly because he is in the unfortunate condition of those who are drifting about without any anchorage. There is an air of sincerity about his utterances, though the one-sided statement of his case, and the injudicial temper with which he simply omits all mention of the points that are most vital to certain issues raised in the book, cause the reader to hesitate in his judgment. The self-imposed task of the author is as gigantic as it might appear difficult, did he not explain that his aim is to show (at this period of the world's history) how in the actual course of events things must have happened as they have done.

He proceeds upon the assumption that the theory of evolution is to be accepted definitely.

The attempt I am making in this work to lay down at each stage of our journey the lines along which the great intellectual, moral, and social movements of the world will be seen to have evolved, can only be justified
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on the assumption which I have made throughout—viz., that the fact of evolution holds good in the spiritual and moral as well as in the physical world (p. 188).

The next stage is to work out the problem (with the answer of the events before him) to a result "that, when regard is had to the great complexity of the subject-matter, may fairly be held to constitute a scientific demonstration" (p. 3). He explains his conception a little further on, where he says :

My one object being to discover how far it were possible that the game of human thought, when played under defined and known conditions, could be determined beforehand in the curve and course of its evolution (p. 113), [and :] it shall be my endeavour to ascertain . . . whether it is possible to determine what, on the hypothesis of evolution, the next development of religion ought to be and must be (p. 189).

His method of working was, after consulting what brief records of the distant ages yet remain to us, to reconstruct his own picture of it all, and in complicated instances "to construct diagrams, so as to represent more clearly to myself the points at which, in my judgment, the connections were either satisfactorily established, or were left still incomplete" (p. iii.).

With a modesty that does him credit, he at one time doubted the value and certainty of this method "to anticipate the views which men like Plato, Aristotle, Buddha, or Paul were likely to hold on the great problems of the world and human life" (p. 3). But since writing "*Civilisation and Progress*," he has felt a deep conviction that "it was a thing possible to be done, and that the time was ripe for doing it" (*Ib.*) He feels himself to stand alone; the principle of investigation that commended itself to Hegel he considers to be nothing more than a "huge, immeasurable, metaphysical nightcap"; Comte, in spite of the fact that he has given to the world "the most comprehensive, the most philosophical, and . . . the most practically useful working conception of the march of the human progress as a whole which has yet appeared," has nevertheless left "a virgin soil to future explorers" who may desire to "determine the *intellectual* curve and line of evolution" in the periods of history (p. 9).

Of Buckle's performance he thinks little need be said (p. 10). Even Herbert Spencer has formulated, in his principle of endless differentiations, a truth which, "although of prime importance in its bearings on our conception of the universe as a whole, is barren and useless for the more limited purpose to which we here wish to put it" (p. 11).

His one object was, therefore, "to discover how far it were possible

that the game of human thought, when played under defined and known conditions, could be determined beforehand" (p. 13).

These, then, strike us as the main faults of this work—assumption, one-sidedness, conjecture, a want of scholarly finish, and suppression of facts, I do not say unconscious, but real. We should like to add that in the chapter on Pagan Morality we have not observed any statement to which we would take exception. Of the grave and crucial mistakes of the volume we say nothing. We will conclude our notice by pointing out one or two matters of minor importance. The writer insists that the Kingdom of God as preached by Christ is earthly. We are told that "philosophies" are "defined (by him) to be games of thought played by the *abstract* or merely *logical* intelligence under definite conditions" (p. 151). Religions, in a similar manner, are defined to be "games of thought played by the *whole* man, as it were—intellect, conscience, and heart" (*Ib.*).

H. P.

England Under the Later Hanoverians: 1760-1837. By A. J. EVANS, M.A., and C. S. FEARENSIDE, M.A. London: Clive. Pp. xx.-493.

WE shall much regret if any delay in our notice of this manual should render it too late to recommend this work for use in preparing for the examination, for which it was especially designed. And we should still more regret that this remark should lead any one to suppose that the book possessed nothing more than the transient value it would have by serving the purpose of a particular occasion. On the contrary, the book is one of permanent interest. It treats of a portion of our history which is, perhaps, the least familiar to the ordinary student—the period in which not "England," but "Modern England," with its new and complicated conditions, has been formed. There are, I suppose, comparatively few who, at a moment's notice, could give a satisfactory account of the rise of the working classes, of the astonishing contrast between their present condition and their condition of civil nonentity at the close of the last century. The division of the book is novel, attractive, and suited to the times. After a short summary of our constitutional history, we have an instructive chapter on International History carried down to 1714; the Whig Oligarchy is omitted in this edition, only the chief headings of the original treatment having been retained. The real work of the volume commences with the New Toryism, 1760-1770. Then follow well-considered chapters on the

American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic wars. The short chapter on the Industrial Revolution (1760-1837) shows a just appreciation of the events which have had most to do in forming the mercantile and manufacturing England in which we now live. An extract on this point will doubtless be welcome. "The reign of George III. may fairly be held to have witnessed a greater number of signal advances in man's power over matter than any preceding period of similar length . . . in terms of Political Economy the change may be expressed by saying that agriculture and manufactures, hitherto carried on to a large extent by the same persons scattered pretty evenly over the whole land, became distinct occupations of classes of people distinct both in habits and habitat; that in both spheres of activity Capital became more clearly marked off from Labour than it had ever been before; and that in each sphere the control passed more and more into the hands of the capitalist, while the labourer became, economically, more dependent on the capitalist" (p. 351).

The chapter on Ireland under the Hanoverians is ushered in with the remark :

"The conquest of Ireland began in 1170 and has continued ever since," was the answer of a schoolboy, whose blundering came very near the truth. The first phase of the long operation was the settlement in Ireland of a large number of Anglo-Norman magnates, who warred with one another and with the native Irish, and became sufficiently Irish to resent the occasional interference of the Home Government (p. 403).

The passage in which the author speaks of the Penal Code is very forcible, but we can only quote the opening statements :

Irish Roman Catholics had been placed under various restraints in accordance with the universal practice of the seventeenth century towards religious Nonconformists; but after 1691 these disabilities were extended so far that the mild word "disabilities" becomes ridiculous. In 1692 the English Parliament began the new series of Penal Acts for Ireland, by imposing Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration of Popery, which excluded all Roman Catholics from office in Ireland; and during the next forty years the Irish Parliament filled in the outlines thus laid down with measures of ever-increasing stringency, &c. (p. 405).

The bitter story of Ireland (pp. 402-421) is rendered all the more bitter by comparison with the glowing picture presented us in this volume of England's success and expansion.

We must not omit to mention the useful maps, the condensed but interesting chapter on the English Literature of the period, and the valuable, if somewhat complicated, "Conspectus of Reigns and Treaties from 1714 to 1837."

H. P.

The Triumph of Failure. A sequel to "Geoffrey Austin, Student." By the REV. P. A. SHEEHAN (Diocese of Cloyne). London: Burns & Oates. 1899. Price 6s.

THIS book is a remarkable one and deserves not merely to be read, but to be read again and remembered. For the author tells us not only the outward fortunes of his hero during the critical years of his early manhood, but also the inward conflicts and vicissitudes of a troubled soul. Geoffrey Austin is typical of many an Irish youth, endowed, not indeed with wealth, but with intelligence and eagerness and the literary spirit, and a certain sense of reverence, which in the dark eclipse of his faith keeps him from falling into the lower depths of degradation when cast, all unprepared, into a world which does its best to crush his virtues and develop his faults. The interest of the story never flags; there are several scenes of great power, and others of still greater pathos; and the sad realities of life are touched with such delicacy that we can place the book in any one's hands without hesitation. The story itself, even in outline, I have no intention of spoiling by telling, and will only suggest to the author one addition—that he should prefix two or three pages giving a summary of the previous volume, "Geoffrey Austin, Student," to which the present is a sequel. That previous volume is, indeed, well worth reading for its own sake; but the present volume is so much greater a book, that it should be made, if possible, complete in itself.

And here, if "The Triumph of Failure" were an ordinary novel, this notice would end. But Father Sheehan's is no ordinary novel, and teaches us such truths—philosophical, political, social, and religious—that dull indeed must be the reader who will not learn something by listening. Even those remarks on public life which seem primarily addressed to Irishmen are yet of general application, implying the theory of the providential diversity of nations, each with its own gifts and its own work to do, and its own dangers and weaknesses to be overcome—all *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Hence, Father Sheehan does not think the best Irishman is the one who strives to be most like an Englishman, makes London his centre or his home, despises and avoids whatever is Irish, has no knowledge of the history and life of his mother-country, no appreciation of her true title to glory as the home of the ideal, the teacher of reverence, the example of patient and heroic suffering, and, more than once, and to more than one continent, the torch-bearer of religion. But to love and honour and appreciate one's own dear native land does not—for Christians—mean scorn and ignorance and hatred of other countries; and, lest I create a false impression of Father Sheehan's work, let me add

emphatically that his love for Ireland does not blind him to the merits of England: he has a generous appreciation of the work of Rugby and Oxford, and never writes aught at which right-minded Englishmen can take offence, unless his lesson to us be an offence that our task is to turn to good purpose the manifold good qualities and immense opportunities of our race.

But politics appear only seldom and incidentally in this work; the main problems faced are those of education, of literature, of philosophy, and of religion. Indeed, one of the chief purposes running through the whole is to show the folly of casting young men (we may say also young women) into the turbid waters of modern literature and philosophy without having so much as taught them to swim, and trusting that somehow they may scramble or float to land. Let us hear Geoffrey Austin's confessions:

All moral feelings — self-discipline, self-reverence, self-conquest — were an unknown factor in my training. Proud, passionate, disdainful, I had already had experience how little qualified I was to face the rough difficulties of life. And what was worse, all the emotional nature within me lay undeveloped and untouched by one single memory of religious thought that I could appeal to for succour or sympathy. No recollection of words hallowed by sacred lips and places came back to support; no memory of choirs stained by the reflected lights from noble windows; no abiding echoes of sacred music heard in the long twilights of summer; no pictures of stalls thronged with the awful reverential faces of boys to whom the mysteries of life were opening out, or of pulpits with the solitary figure of the man who had passed through the storms of life and warned us of its dangers; no strong appeals to a life of virtue because of its own glory; no divine panorama of the history of the Church, its power, its organisation, its influence; and no appeal to our strong emotional natures to lift up our eyes to the Heavenly City, and emulate the courage, as we hoped to share the glory, of the citizens — none of these things, essential to the spiritual life and growth of boys, came back to me to recall my vagrant thoughts and restore me to the lost loyalties of my youth (pp. 37-38).

Our Catholic colleges in England are at the present moment doing their best to follow the advice implicitly contained in this passage, and to send out their students equipped with good moral principles, sound philosophy, and wholesome literature; and thus to fit them to take their place efficiently in the great battle between good and evil, which from the nature of the case is ever being fought in every civilised society. "See that our young men go well armed into the inevitable fray" is the lesson to be drawn from the bitter experiences and sad disillusiones of Geoffrey Austin.

But although this is Father Sheehan's meaning, yet in places his words sound as though he counselled not so much a victory over an evil world as a flight from it; and I fear he may be misunderstood

and may be thought to look on emotion as more important than reason in matters of religion. It is well, indeed, to be indignant at the prevalent neglect of the treasures of Christian literature, and we may rightly be entranced by the beautiful passages which he cites from St. Ephrem. But he allows Charlie Travers—a young lay apostle, one of the most attractive and beautifully drawn characters in the book—to say :

Christian literature! Why, there's none other. What is your profane history? A drama of lies. What is your philosophy? A drama of chimeras and delusions. What is your literature? A drama of impurity (p. 277).

Somehow this recalls to me one of those short and severe sentences of St. Thomas ("Sum." 2a, 2ae, qv. 106, c. 4) :

Fervor voluntatis non est virtuosus, nisi sit ratione ordinatus.

And then the priest who prepared the young Travers for his work made him burn all his Greek books :

Every dainty volume, carefully annotated and marked, was calcined into dust (p. 188).

No wonder that the crusade against vice and worldliness led by the young apostle was looked on as a crusade against culture and education (p. 209), being connected (quite unnecessarily) with words and acts that savour rather of Tertullian than of St Paul, rather of Savonarola than of that greater Dominican who is never weary of urging us that to be truly men we must not act anyhow, but *secundum rationem*.

A certain confusion, indeed, we cannot escape, because of the double aspect of the relations of the Church to the world, the world appearing in one aspect as bound in a triple alliance with the flesh and the devil, and an arch-foe against whom there is no alternative but a truceless war ; and then in another aspect appearing as a multitude of individual souls, each one *anima naturaliter Christiana*, with spiritual yearnings and immense possibilities of good, and in piteous need of being raised to the higher life. To combine these two aspects into one is a task such as occurs elsewhere in philosophy and theology, and which is quite beyond man's limited powers ; and only few of us can get so far as to treat both aspects with due balance of mind, and lay equal stress on the renunciation and on the conversion of the world. Thus I think it is hardly fair when our author brackets Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria as two spokesmen on opposite sides (p. 344), and does not tell us that the hard-judging and rigorous Tertullian,

who called Socrates the "Attic buffoon" and Aristotle "the wretched," made shipwreck of his faith, while the gentle Clement is honoured as an orthodox Father of the Church—the Clement who wrote the beautiful sentence: "Of all that is beautiful the true author is God."

In reality Father Sheehan is quite on the side of Clement as against Tertullian, and expressly tells us how all the best of all literature, art, philosophy, and science, if properly used, will lead to God, and thus that the Greeks can be made the acolytes of the Church, and all human excellence her ministers (pp. 345, 399–400). And if he had not said this in words, he teaches the same lesson most eloquently by the union of religion and culture in his own person; for assuredly he could never have written a book like the present had he not been steeped in classic literature and the masterpieces of philosophy. And I have only made the foregoing criticisms lest any captious and unwilling reader, not at all relishing the irresistible arguments in favour of plainer living and higher thinking, should try to escape them by alleging that Father Sheehan bids us all burn our books and turn monks forthwith.

Having swept away this misunderstanding, space fails me to do more than barely indicate some of the other truths which shine like beacons on our course through the pages of "The Triumph of Failure"—how little mere philosophy and mere literature avail in the great trials of life, true religion being the only true support and consolation; what an evidence for higher things and deep mysteries are the faith and love of a little child; how simple family life is the great provider of true earthly happiness: what treasures of goodness are to be found hidden among the poor; and lastly, as the title of the book suggests, what vanity and disillusion lurk behind worldly success, what blessings behind failure, "for it is only sorrow brings to the light, which is God" (p. 430).

C. S. D.

Characteristics from the Writings of Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster. Selected by REV. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1898.

IT was a timely thought to bring out a book like this, when public interest had been aroused by Mr. Wilfrid Ward's "Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman." But Father Bridgett's book would

have been valuable in any case—not only as bringing home to us the many-sided genius of our first Archbishop of Westminster, but also as raising the important question of the preservation of his writings and as taking the first step to bring those writings together. Father Bridgett says of them in the Preface :

No attempt was made to form a complete and uniform edition during his (Wiseman's) lifetime, nor has any such been as yet undertaken since his death. The following selection from his writings may, it is hoped, promote a more general demand for a reprint of books now not easily procurable, and in danger of being forgotten, to the great loss both of literature and of Catholic interests. Even the library of the British Museum lacks many of his sermons and lectures. The following list has been gathered from many catalogues, yet is probably incomplete.

Then follows the list of Wiseman's works, and a goodly list it is, even if it be not complete, comprising as it does numerous essays, lectures, sermons, and letters, together with meditations, stories, dramas, and dealing with all kinds of subjects, scientific, artistic, and religious.

A mere glance at such a list makes one feel at once the gravity of the editor's plea, and that feeling is intensified as we turn to the selected passages which constitute the body of the book. Though his difficulty must have been rather what to omit than what to choose, in the short space at his disposal, yet the selection itself has been carefully made, and admirably suits his purpose ; though the religious element necessarily prevails, the passages are very varied in character. They are classed under five heads : I. Polemical ; II. Doctrinal ; III. Moral ; IV. Devotional ; V. Miscellaneous. At first sight, some of the polemical passages might seem rather to be called apologetic, and some of the miscellaneous polemical ; while some of the doctrinal have a distinctly controversial bearing. Nevertheless, the classification holds good, for it is clearly not made in any rigid or exclusive way, and, indeed, could not so be made from the nature of the case. The work which Cardinal Wiseman had to do for England was in its working out so complex and involved, that it must often have made instruction look like defence, and explanation like attack ; and we infer that it would be scarcely possibly to gather together from his writings many passages of any length at all that would seem to us purely doctrinal, or purely polemical, or purely devotional.

Every reader of this interesting book must needs hope that its publication will lead to what its author desires—the collecting and re-publishing, in a uniform series, of all the works of Cardinal Wiseman. Certainly no one can read even these few passages without wishing for

more, and without realising more than ever what a debt of gratitude we Catholics of England owe to his memory.

J. H.

Die Chromatische Alteration in liturgischen Gesang (Chromatic Alteration in Liturgical Chant). By GUSTAV JACOBSTHAL. Berlin: Published by Julius Springer.

WE must presume the reader to possess some knowledge of the theory of music, and to be acquainted with the tonalities both of modern music and the ancient Gregorian or plain chant. The latter we are accustomed to describe as a strictly diatonic chant, notwithstanding the fact that it admits the B natural to be changed into B flat. Both B natural and B flat, not without a certain inconsistency, are considered as genuine diatonic notes. Mr. G. Jacobsthal's contention is that in centuries past, besides this B flat also F sharp and E flat, nay, even very likely other chromatic notes, were employed in the liturgical chant. As to F sharp and E flat, we may consider their use to be satisfactorily proved. The learned writer leads his readers step by step through the labyrinth of his arguments. Every new step is taken with due precaution and circumspection, and every argument most carefully sounded. And this is done with an ease, clearness, and sedateness which cannot fail to make a favourable impression on the reader.

We know that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries many pieces of plain chant were made to undergo a change, some by transposition only, some by transposition combined with "expurgation" or "emendation." The pieces thus changed were precisely those which were affected by chromatic notes, and the change was undertaken with the avowed aim of ridding them of those notes. Chants, then, in which F sharp but no B natural occurred, were transposed into the fourth above the original, by means of which B natural was made to take the place of F sharp; chants containing E flat were shifted a fifth higher; the E flat then was rendered by B flat. Thus the disliked notes, F sharp and E flat, disappeared; at least they did so to the eye. Now, as the chant-notation was and is still only relative with regard to pitch, the transposition had no effect on the intonation; the transposed chant was and is still sung in the selfsame pitch as the original, and the latter remained in all respects the same, save the notation visible to the eyes.

But in case a piece of chant embodied also B natural besides F sharp or E flat, the task of eliminating the latter was not quite so

easy; for the B natural would in the transposition present itself as F sharp, a note which on purpose had to be avoided. Here, then, besides transposition, "expurgation" or "emendation" had to be made use of, *i.e.*, the F sharp had to be discarded by remodelling the passage wherein it occurred. Our author gives us, in a number of samples, a clear exposition of the different methods employed in remodelling the said passages, to reproduce which here would lead us too far. The emendated chants had undergone a real, not only an apparent, change; they could no longer be pronounced to be the selfsame as the originals. Have they, then, by the process they underwent, lost or gained in beauty and expression? It is an acknowledged fact that chromatic notes have an expression of their own, not capable of being replaced by any other means. Whilst, then, there is no dispute as to this fact, there may be, and really is, one as to the desirability of such an expression, be it in general or in particular cases. As far as plain chant is concerned, such an expression did not seem desirable to the emendators. The chromatic B flat, it is true, was admitted by them, but it was admitted primarily only for the sake of avoiding the harsh and unmelodious "*tritonus*," and secondarily, or perhaps permissively, only for the sake of expression. Yet they might have easily detected that the very same reason—*viz.*, avoidance of the *tritonus*—demanded in certain combinations the F sharp, in others the E flat, &c.

The immediate predecessors of the emendators, then, were in possession of chromatic notes. As to F sharp and E flat this is conclusively demonstrated in the work lying before us. As to other chromatic notes the question must remain open until further research enable us to form a definite judgment. Now, the chromatic notes were either interwoven into the chants by the composers of the latter, or they were in course of time inserted by way of corruption. The emendators, as it may seem, take the latter alternative for granted, without, however, advancing documentary evidence, or attempting to do so. To our author, however, the first alternative seems the more probable of the two, though, for want of documents, not yet fully demonstrable. In case further researches should make it demonstrable, and a restitution of the transposed and emendated chants into their original shape should be demanded, the task would, in the opinion of our author, not be impossible. The re-transposition would offer no difficulties whatever, and the re-emendation would offer no unsurmountable ones.

As matters now stand, the results of Mr. Jacobsthal's labours, great as they are, are more of a theoretical and archaeological than of a practical interest, and must remain so as long as their application and,

so to speak, translation into practical life is not taken up, or at least countenanced, by that authority to which Holy Church has entrusted matters of this kind. Both apprehensions, and, as the frame of mind may be, prospects in this direction can be but small. To this conclusion we arrive by reflecting on the attitude the said authority takes in the question of the abridged chant. However much could be said and actually has been said in favour of unabridged chant, it has only resulted in reiterated declarations of the authenticity and more emphatic recommendations of the abridged chant. The emendators of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it is true, were well aware that their immediate predecessors were in full possession of the chromatic notes, nay, even that these notes were claimed as an inheritance of indefinite standing; but the abridgers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not less aware of the fact that up to their own days there existed and were in practical use chants enriched with numerous and prolonged neumes, and, indeed, they had them before their eyes. Yet for all this the Congregation of Rites does not abandon the abridged chant it has once approved of. The inference as to the chromatic notes is easy. There is undoubtedly, with all its firm steadiness, some elasticity, something of a character opposite to rigid petrification in our holy liturgical chant. Holy Church and her commissioned agents have their good motives whenever they decide matters as they do; and it is well for us to listen to and hear their voice.

This is not said with the view of discouraging either Mr. Jacobsthal or any other investigator. It is most desirable to have matters thoroughly sifted. Works like that before our eyes are not only highly interesting, but are most serviceable in widening our views and advancing our historical and theoretical knowledge.

I. T.

The Secret of Fougereuse: a Romance of the Fifteenth Century. From the French of LOUISE IMOGEN GUINEY. Boston: Marlier & Callanan. Pp. 247.

THE anonymous translator has very well fulfilled his or her task, and has put the old-world romance into readable English. The style naturally partakes of that which the author no doubt felt to be in harmony with the subject, and savours of that sober cumbrousness which brings back to us memories of "the last rays of the setting sun were gilding the summits of the western hills, when two travellers might be seen wending their way," &c. &c. Instead of that we have:

In the reign of the good King René there stood, buried in the forest of Pouillé, not far from Angers, a solitary hunting lodge. Two graceful turrets shot up from its low stretch of roof. The windows, heavily barred, were yet a safe defence; the massive oaken door was firm on its hinges; the stone entrances, sunken now in the ferns and tall grass, were neither discoloured nor broken; and under the dark-glistening tapestry which ivy hung upon the walls, there was hidden a gap in the masonry. The whole place told of neglect, not of ruin.

Ah, yes! We remember that "massive oaken door," only in our young days it used always to creak upon its hinges, and we always could hear the quiet lap of the waters upon the donjon walls. But we have no right to mix up our memories with Mlle. Louise Imogen Guiney's tale, and if our readers wish to know what happened in the solitary hunting lodge in the forest of Pouillé, they must procure and read it for themselves, and we do not think they will regret having done so. The book is beautifully printed and illustrated, and altogether of a kind which does much credit to the American publishers.

J. M.

Jules II. Rome et la Renaissance. Essais et Esquisses. By Julian Klaczko. Paris. 1898.

TO all who admire the works of Raphael and of Michael Angelo—and who does not?—this book will afford some delightful reading. Its author, evidently thoroughly acquainted with his subject, deals in a most charming and sympathetic way with the artistic side of the Renaissance, and particularly of the reign of Julius II., when Raphael was engaged on his great works in the *stanze* of the Vatican, and Michael Angelo was labouring at his immortal work on the roof of the Sistine Chapel. Incidentally, of course, we learn a good deal of an age which in its religious aspect at least cannot but appear strange to us whose lot, we may be thankful to think, has been cast in different times. The pontificate of Julius II., though rendered glorious no doubt by his great military successes and by the artistic creations his genius inspired and assisted, is unfortunately not one that manifests in any way the spiritual greatness of the Christian Church. To the people of his day, when for the first time the successor of St. Peter was seen riding out at the head of his troops to do battle with his enemies, to chastise some treacherous ally, or to try and rid Italy of an invading foreigner, Julius was first a great warrior, then a Pope. He was to the world of his day "Il Pontefice terribile," who, in the common language of Rome, "had thrown St. Peter's keys into the Tiber and had borrowed St. Paul's sword." No doubt there was

another side to his character, and we can quite believe that in all his martial undertakings he was solely actuated by the desire of building up again the temporal power of the Papacy and making the name of the Pope feared throughout the length and breadth of Italy. Indeed, in the description given of his death-bed by the faithful Paris de Grassis, we catch a glimpse of the true Christian in the humble confession of his unworthiness and in his repeated desire not to be surrounded by unnecessary pomp. But beyond this there is hardly an action or a deed recorded in the pages of M. Klaczko's volume which reflects the true greatness of a Vicar of Christ, whilst there is much that is shocking to our modern ideas at least. Such, for example, is the sight of the Father of Christians celebrating "triumphs" for victories which could only be paralleled in the days of the Roman Empire, and which caused Erasmus, who witnessed such an entry into Rome after the taking of Bologna, to express his supreme astonishment at finding the successor of the Apostles surrounding himself with such pagan pomp.

The interest of the volume lies, as we have indicated, in the information it gives us of the work of the two great artists Raphael and Michael Angelo. It is curious to see the powerful influence exerted over the latter by the masterful mind of the Pope. It was Julius who brought the Florentine back to his work in Rome almost by force when he had fled, and who practically compelled him, though he calls himself "a sculptor," to undertake the painting of the Sistine. We can almost picture to ourselves the visits paid by the Pope to the artist during the three or four years he was engaged on the task and see the venerable Pontiff mounting up to the scaffold in order to see that the work was being carried out as he had ordered it. M. Klaczko points out, in regard to the subjects chosen for the decoration of the roof, that they show undoubtedly the influence which the teaching of Savonarola had exerted over the mind of the artist, and for that matter over that of the Pope, who had apparently been the friend of the great Florentine Dominican. In this connection it is of interest to note that in Raphael's great painting of the "Dispute" concerning the Blessed Sacrament, painted within ten years after Savonarola's condemnation, he is placed among the doctors of the Church in the Pope's palace at Rome. The details of the paintings in the *stanze* are given in these pages with a freshness and fulness of information which make the portion of the work dealing with Raphael especially interesting. M. Klaczko shows how the series in the second *stanze* were intended by the choice of the subjects to illustrate the acts of the reign of Julius himself, and especially the work he had accom-

plished for the Church in defending the patrimony of St. Peter and in punishing the enemies of the Holy See. In most of these great paintings the portrait of Pope Julius, with his beard, is introduced, and from a design now at Oxford, reproduced by the author in one of his plates, it appears that in its original idea the "Retreat of Attila" was also intended to have the portrait of that Pope in the place of that of Pope Leo X., which on the death of Julius before its final completion was substituted for it.

F. A. G.

Reviews in Brief.

A Guide for Girls. From the German of the Reverend F. X. WETZEL. Freiburg in Briesgau: B. Herder. 1898.—In these days, when it is so much the usage for girls of all classes to set out on independent careers, leaving the shelter of their parents' care for a solitary battle with life, such a little handbook of wisdom as this meets a much-felt want. The advice contained in the several chapters is of a thoroughly practical character, adapted for those whose busy lives leave often little time for serious reflection. The care of health, the practice of thrift, duty to parents, are among the various points of conduct touched on, each with a brevity and force of style which serve to imprint the maxims inculcated on the memory. There could be no more useful gift to a girl leaving home for service or other avocation than this tiny volume with its wealth of kindly teaching.

Lays of the Knights. By CLEMENT WILLIAM BARRAUD. S.J. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.—The series of ballads from which this graceful volume of verse takes its title is instinct with the spirit of the old Crusaders, and makes our hearts thrill again to the glories of the Templars and Hospitallers, of Acre and Azotus. In a sequence of forty-four sonnets on more modern themes the author shows that he is master of this more intricate form of versification as well as of the simpler measures in which he sings the deeds of the Knights of the Cross. The one appended is entitled "Lumen de Coelo," and strikes us as a very fine inspiration on the theme of Leo XIII.'s prophetic motto:

"Cross upon cross, and then—a heavenly light."
Such was the prophecy, and who will say
'Tis nothing worth? Great Pope! thy golden ray
Gleams in all eyes, and he were blind as night
Who could not see how beautiful, how bright
That flood of glory streams upon thy way,
Turning our long, long gloom to clearest day,
Bringing the reign of Peace, and Truth, and Right.
A star in heaven, like to that star of old,
That led the Magi to the Babe Divine,
Whose sceptre thou dost wield. And now, behold!
Thou too art set in Israel as a sign;
And kings of earth come to His feet and thine,
Bringing their myrrh, and frankincense, and gold.

Many other numbers, too, we should like to quote, such as those on the Golden and Diamond Jubilees, on St. Joseph, and the last, headed "Ad Anglos," but for these we must refer our readers to the volume itself.

An Exposition of the various Divisions of Infidelity Second Series. Price 6d. By the Rev. M. P. HORGAN. Louth: J. W. Goulding.—Father Horgan treats his readers liberally. For sixpence he presents them with a closely printed volume of 220 pages. The substance of the work has been collected at great pains from many sources, and put together in a bright, interesting form. It is not a book for boys nor for the cycle-struck. Serious matters having momentous issues are discussed by the author. Rationalists are argued with soberly, then comes the turn of Traditionalists. The chapters on "The Christian Religion—not a development and perfecting of ancient philosophy" indicate deep research and a solid grasp of the history of philosophy. Decidedly we prefer Fr. Horgan's prose to his poetry.

Our Lady of Campo Cavallo. Second Edition. London: Washbourne. 2d.—The prodigies which have marked the progress of devotion to Our Blessed Lady, under the title of "Campo Cavallo," naturally called for some account of the rise of this devotion, and of the shrine where it is chiefly practised. This little book supplies the required information, and brings the history of this now celebrated sanctuary of the Madonna down to August 1898.

Order of Divine Service for Palm Sunday. London: Art and Book Company.—The present volume, containing 226—liv. pp., is designed as the first of a series, to contain the complete Church services for special days or seasons of the ecclesiastical year. It is compiled from the Roman Missal, Breviary, and Martyrology, and accompanied with a trustworthy English translation throughout. Valuable notes clear up all obscure passages. Bound in cloth, and printed on good paper, this book is a credit to editors and publishers.

Stations of the Cross. By the Rev. JARLATH PRENDERGAST, O.S.F. Dublin: Duffy.—A compact little volume, providing four different sets of Prayers for the Devotion of the Way of the Cross. The form, full of rugged pathos and rhythmic English, to which most Catholics were accustomed forty years ago, is deservedly given precedence. Then come the Stations according to St. Leonard of

[No. 30 of *Fourth Series*.]

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Port Maurice, St. Alphonsus Liguori, and St. Francis of Sales. For private recitation a change will be acceptable. The learned Franciscan who has drawn up this volume has prefaced it with some very needful instructions concerning Decrees and other legal matters connected with the erection of the Way of the Cross, and the gaining of the Great Indulgences attached to this devotion. Fr. Jarlath's book ought to find a place in every sacristy.

Our Lady and the Eucharist. London: Washbourne. 1s.—In this little volume, the compiler of "Father Faber's May Book" has put together selections from the same experienced ascetical writer for the benefit of those who cannot hold a big book in their hands, or take in knowledge except in a condensed form. Many Catholics who would shudder at the mere thought of wading through Faber's "Blessed Sacrament," with all its wealth of theology and philosophy, its vivid historical pictures, its glowing poetry, and its perpetual contact with human nature, may be induced by the pretty binding, gilt-edged leaves, and tiny proportions of this slim volume, to consecrate a few moments to these beautiful thoughts on the suggestive and touching affinities between Jesus in the Holy Eucharist and His Holy Mother. "Our Lady and the Eucharist" should prove a timely and acceptable New Year's Gift—a handy companion when on a visit to the Blessed Sacrament.

The Seraph of Assisi. By the Rev. JOHN A. JACKMAN, O.M. Dublin: Duffy. 5s. net.—The lines gathered up into this book have been running some time in the Franciscan Tertiary, where they have been read with pleasure, and doubtless with profit, by the many Irish clients of St. Francis of Assisi. Father Jackman writes with unction, and occasionally with a warmth that strongly resembles the sacred fire of poesy. In easy, flowing numbers the author gives the first part (Books I.—VI.) of the life of St. Francis, and tertiaries, though familiar with the history of their holy father, will read with renewed pleasure these metrical chronicles of the Seraphic Patriarch. As a specimen of Fr. Jackman's style, we take the following passage from Book VI., pp. 193, 194:

Tears from the brother at his side fell fast,
When Francis, sketching rapidly the past,
Told of the innocence of her who stood
Before her God so calm, so sweet, so good,
The little child of Joachim and Anne,
Who, as immaculate, had felt no ban;
Who was all fair, from her conception's hour,

And sprung up on earth's soil a snow-white flower,
 Destined by God from all eternity
 Pure mother of His humbled Son to be. . . .

Sagesse Pratique. Par le R. P. MARIA WEISS, O.P. Paris : Delhomme et Briguet. 1898. 3fr. 50c.—This learned Dominican, Fr. Weiss, is well known in Germany, where his "Defence of Christianity from the Standpoint of Morality and Civilisation" is justly held to be one of the finest monuments of Christian apologetics raised up in this century. His translator, Fr. Collin, has been well advised in making another work of the same author accessible to us in French. "Practical Wisdom" is the title of a book made up of twenty-five chapters, each sub-divided into several distinct and conveniently small paragraphs. Without undertaking laborious scientific researches, readers may, with the help of Fr. Weiss's book, glean interesting information about the different religious questions debated at the present time. It is emphatically a book for our higher schools. The title is justified by the subject, which is a dramatic presentment of the means employed by divine wisdom to bring about the establishment of the heavenly kingdom planned by God from all eternity. The style is replete with life and variety. It is a book full of wise sayings, pungent epigrams, up-to-date illustrations, and apt quotations from the very latest writers on social and intellectual questions.

The Woman that was a Sinner. F. BERNARD VAUGHAN, S.J. London : Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. 27.—This is a sermon preached by Father Vaughan last Lent, at Cannes. It is a very vivid description of the conversion of the woman that was a sinner. How far the groundwork of the description is justified it would be hard to say, but very good use has been made of the Gospel narrative itself, no point has been neglected that adds life and interest to the picture. Two remarks might be made: one is that the preacher is a little hard on Simon the Pharisee, who was not quite so bad as he is here painted, so far as we can judge from the words of our Lord; and the other, that the story is so overloaded with detail and ornament that there is a danger of the real moral being lost.—F. T. L.

Oxford Conferences. Second Series. JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. Burns & Oates. 1898. Pp. 79.—This pamphlet contains the conferences addressed to the Catholic undergraduates at Oxford during the Lent term of the present year (1898). They are short discourses on certain modern errors, those especially that deny to dogma any place in science. The style is lively and entertaining, and at the same time

very clear. Brevity was, of course, imposed by circumstances; but some of the discourses would gain a great deal by development. Some of the imaginary London professors into whose mouths are put the arguments of certain modern schools of thought might complain that they were not adequately represented in their views; but even were this the case, it may be answered that it was not Fr. Rickaby's intention to do more than indicate the drift of the opponents of dogma, and point out the inconsistency underlying all attempts to overthrow definite teaching in matters of faith, on the part of men who profess in any way whatever to accept revelation.—F. T. L.

Books Received.

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- St. Vincent de Paul.** By E. D. Broglie. Translated by Mildred Partridge. London: Duckworth & Co. 8vo, pp. xii.-257.
- Leibnitz: The Monadology and other Philosophical Writings.** Translated with Introduction and Notes by Robert Latta. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. vii.-437.
- La Notion de temps, d'après les principes de St. Thomas d'Aquin.** Désiré Nys. Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie. 8vo, pp. 232.
- Striving after Perfection.** Rev. Joseph Banner, S.J. New York: Benziger Bros. 8vo, pp. 264.
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- Questions Pratiques de droit et de Morale sur le Mariage.** F. Deshayes, Docteur en Théologie et droit Canon. Paris: Lethiel-leux. Pp. xii.-455.
- New Testament Studies and Principal Events in the Life of our Lord.** Right Rev. Mgr. T. J. Conaty, D.D. New York: Benziger Bros. 8vo, pp. 252.
- Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante.** Paget Toynbee, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4to, pp. x.-616.
- Horæ Diurnæ Breviarii Romani.** Mechlin.: H. Dessain. 12mo, price 6s. 6d. net.

Dulcissima. Dilectissima. Robert Ferguson, F.S.A. London : Elliot Stock. 12mo, pp. 106.

Die Christen Verfolgungen in Römischen Reiche vom Standpunkte des Juristen. Dr. Max Contrat. Leipzig : Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. 79.

Life of St. Juliana Falconieri. Rev. F. Soulier. London : Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. xviii.-278. 5s.

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Complete Benediction Manual. (Cary Edition.) A. E. Tozer. London : Cary & Co. 4to, pp. 87. 4s.

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- Intimations of Heaven and other Poems.** Horace E. Walker. Claremont, N.H. : Geo. L. Putnam & Co. 8vo, pp. 130.
- Manual of the History of French Literature.** Ferdinand Brunetière. Trans. by Ralph Derechef. London : Fisher Unwin. 8vo, pp. 531.
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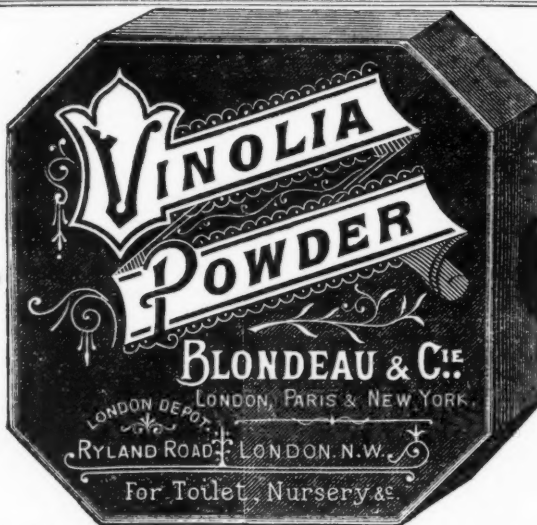
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